

LUTHERAN WORLD

PUBLICATION OF THE
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

WINTER

1955/56

Vol. II, No. 4

THE CONFESSION OF THE CHURCH

AS GIFT AND RESPONSIBILITY GEORG HOFFMANN

WORSHIP AND SACRIFICE

CARL FR. WISLOFF

THE FAMILY AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

KURT FRÖR

LUTHERAN CHURCH MUSIC TODAY

WILLEM MUDDÉ

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Winter 1956

The praise of God which the New Testament hymns proclaim is a Christian reality that is far from easy to approach and not easily understood. What the praise of God is, judged from the point of view of the natural man, is, for example, much more difficult to understand than what "sin" is. For in man's natural experience many evident signs are given pointing to what sin and guilt are in the life of a man; there is in connection with all natural religion some hint of what sin is. But what the praise of God is is completely beyond the possibility of all mere natural religiosity. What sin really is I also only know by the Holy Spirit of God; but I may discover signs and hints of this reality in my natural life. However, what the praise of God is I can only know as one taught by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, says Luther in his glorious exposition of the Magnificat, "The joyous praise of God is no work of man".

In the praise of God there comes to fruition the ripest fruit of all Christian life. The praise of God is a conclusion, is maturity, perfection, fruit.

And so we do what always should be done in face of God's eternal Word: We raise our view the length and breadth of these experiences of faith, looking back upon the chain of believers of the past and looking forward into the future that is to stand under the illumination of this praise of God.

Hanns Lilje:

Das Lob Gottes

The Confession of the Church as Gift and Responsibility

Confession as both gift and responsibility¹—whoever chooses to say something about this must avoid byways. In treating this subject it is only too easy to end up in a dead end street.

The first is the danger of panegyric superfluity. "Whose heart is full must speak". The heart does participate when we speak of the confession of the church, but if we begin to praise "with much fine speech" the confessions in their riches and beauty as the treasure of the Lutheran church and thus to place them in the Bengal light of romantic love of our heritage, healthy evangelical sobriety raises its voice, wards off such superfluity and reminds us that it is also valid of the confessional writings: "We want to be less exalted than read more diligently!"

The second is the danger of an apologetic, cramped state of mind. Because we as Lutherans are so readily accused of stubborn confessionalism, confessional idolatry, formal orthodoxy, and doctrinal legalism etc. etc., there are many among us who think as soon as the theme "confession" is touched upon, that we immediately must point out to biblicists, pietists, and unionists, that these accusations are groundless, that despite our being bound to the confession we certainly hold to the primacy of Holy Scripture, do not live in the 16th but in the 20th century, demonstrate openness to the concerns of the present, and similar facts of honor to our Lutheran church. Before we realize it, we have let ourselves be forced into the rôle of the accused who attempts to prove his innocence in the face of his accusers. There is no reason for this. Certainly there may be reason and at times it may be necessary positively to establish in the face of evident misunderstanding and misinterpretation what the Lutheran affirmation of the confessions means and embraces. But the result should not be Lutheranism in retreat, eternally on the defensive, feeling itself ever misunderstood and attacked and forced into a corner—and all of this in a peculiarly joyless and fearful manner which has little or nothing to do with the open, confident, outreaching joy which we find in the attitude of the confessions of the Reformation and those who produced them: "Et loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum aet non confundear" [And I spoke of Thy testimonies before kings and was not confounded]—as the quotation over the Latin edition of the Augsburg Confession has it.

¹ [Trans: the German text uses the words "Gabe" (gift) and "Aufgabe" (task) in an evident play on words that is impossible to reproduce in English.]

There is a third dead end street into which one can easily turn, even if the other two have happily been avoided: the danger of conventionality and correct dullness. What can one say on the theme of confession that has not long since been said, written, heard, considered and discussed, especially when it is presented in terms of the not particular stirring or stimulating doublet "Gabe/Aufgabe"? We appear forced to choose the alternative, either of making rash and unguarded statements in order to gain the reader's interest—even by arousing disagreement—or of remaining dogmatically unsullied but then liable to the accusation, according to Matthias Claudius, of being one of those theologians who produce the unavoidable noise connected with pouring old theological milk from one can into another.

Whether and to what extent the following lines have succeeded in avoiding the danger of these dead ends cannot be a matter of an author's judgment. These dangers have been seen—that and nothing more was what this introduction was to point out. When we speak of the confession of the church in the fullest sense of a formulated confession, of the confessions, we are thinking as a rule first of all of the normative use of the confession in the church, of its public validity and significance for the *publica doctrina ecclesiae*. The collection of individual confessions in the form of an embracing *corpus doctrinae* like our Book of Concord and the name confessions or symbols express this public recognition. Here we are not concerned with individuals alone but with the whole church as the Augsburg Confession in the very first sentence says: "Ecclesiae magno consensu apud nos docent" [Our churches with one accord teach . . .]. In the confessions the church expresses her theological understanding of herself as the church of Jesus Christ and gives standard expression to what belongs to the unanimous proclamation of the Gospel "according to pure understanding".

In the service of keeping this proclamation pure there is not only the necessity of positive statement and direction but also critical differentiation and limitation in relation to other false doctrines. In addition to *docemus*—the believing, teaching and confessing—there is *damnamus*, the rejection of the opposite teaching—not casually, but for reasons of inner necessity.² The aspect of public validity of the confession is thus in the foreground. In fact, it appears to be the decisive mark of the confession. Public recognition and adoption as church law are the things which lift certain writings from among the many confessions and confession-like formulations and give them the mark of normative validity in relation to the others, without which they remain but private compositions, as for example Luther's catechisms and his Smalcald Articles remained for over a generation. Here the concern is not just for ecclesiastical validity and church law. We must take another step. At least in Germany, the confession in

² Cf. the admirable book by H.-W. Gensichen, *Damnamus: Die Verwerfung von Irrlehren bei Luther und im Luthertum des 16. Jahrhunderts* [The condemnation of false teaching by Luther and Lutheranism of the 16th century]. *Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums* I, Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1955.

addition has a legal significance a fact which has consequences even today. By the Peace of Augsburg, whose quadricentennial was celebrated last year, the Augsburg Confession of 1530 received the character of a legal document. The peace treaty expressly made the decisive statement that no estate of the Empire might be injured or suffer violence because of the Augsburg Confession and its teaching, but that such religion, faith, church practices, orders and ceremonies were to be permitted without disturbance.³ In how far the area of genuine validity of the confession from the Word of God and in the power of this Word was endangered or totally neglected by such legal recognition is not our concern in this connection; we mention it only to round off the picture of the public validity of the confession.

In addition to this public recognition of the confession and its significance for the whole church and her proclamation there is a second significance which must not be overlooked because of the first which stands in the foreground of ecclesiastical and theological discussion. This is the significance of the church's formulated confession for the concrete service in the church, especially for the service of the individual "minister of the Word".

This significance of the confession for the individual ministry of a pastor in the church can be outlined on two sides. The first is its use as a measure and scale for evaluating the preaching of the minister. In this way the confession gives the individual pastor theological direction, as it were, by turning its general public validity upon the individual instance of the church's ministry and personal proclamation. The confession wants to and can offer help for the right fulfilment of the total ministry and the inner mastery of responsibilities of pastoral work, of ministerial acts, in the co-operation with others, in the daily on-going tasks of the ministry; help also for one's very personal existence and perseverance in times of tribulation. In this way the theological responsibilities of the confession are supplemented by its pastoral significance.

The theological responsibility of the confession is fundamentally expressed in the ordination vow. Most Lutheran ordination vows bind the candidate to scriptural and confessional doctrine. "Wilt thou . . . truly and faithfully preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ as it is given in the Holy Scriptures and witnessed to in the confession of our Evangelical-Lutheran Church?" This is the wording in the new Order of Service of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany [VELKD]. In addition, the ordination vow often contains a special reference to the confessional writings. For example in the Church of Hannover even today this is to be carried out and signed in Latin and is renewed at each change of pastorate, so that the ministers of the Word are accompanied by constant reminder and admonition throughout the whole life of their ministry: "Ego subscriptus sancte promitto me in proponendis christianae religionis veritatibus normam librorum symbolicorum esse secuturum."

³ The exact wording in M. Simon, *Der Augsburger Religionsfriede*, 1955.

This has also juridical significance though not primarily. In it we see definite implications for church law: It is the guarantee that an applicant for church office is an applicant of the church's own confession, and by which it is declared that an applicant is able to hold clerical office in her midst; it is the guarantee to the congregations that they have preachers of their confession who are in *consensus de doctrina*; and finally it is the legal foundation for the fact that pastors who come into conflict with the confession, even when no other conditions for disciplinary action exist, may be called to account and in severe cases of persistent doctrinal error may be removed from office—not as punishment, but for the sake of the congregation's protection.

But though being bound to the confession also has consequences for church law, it does not, as we have said, lose itself here, just as it dare not be understood as a *primarily legal* bond at all. As everywhere in the realm of the Gospel "Aufgabe" grows out of "Gabe", the imperative is built up on the indicative.

Thus being bound to the confession is not to be burdensome law or have the effect of disabling fetters but offers itself primarily as *help* and *protection* for fulfilling one's office.

Being bound to the confession is to be understood as a *help*. This bond which the minister takes upon himself is not forced upon him but he accepts it freely. It is first of all simply a statement of personal confession related to the church's confession. The applicant for ecclesiastical office expresses what for him too has become a sustaining certainty in the fellowship of the church under the Word of God and what he expects to make the foundation of his future ministry in the church. In view of this it can be said that the confessional oath is, as it were, a statement of purpose: Thus I believe and thus shall I teach.

Such a personal statement means affirming the confession and at the same time freely enclosing oneself in the fellowship of the church. The individual pastor is not isolated in his office, but conducts it in fellowship with his brethren who also are bound to the same confession and thus in the fellowship of the church. Both in a pastoral (see below) as well as a theological point of view the confession can perform an essential service for a person by rescuing him from isolated existence.

In affirming the confession an individual places himself in the church's line of service. He who conducts his office, perhaps in very limited local circumstances, may know that his local ministry is set in a much broader framework: in the fellowship with other congregations and churches of the same confession who belong together in *consensus de doctrina evangelii*, above and beyond all visible unity, and despite all tensions and divisions in the total fellowship of Christendom. This is not only an ideal or goal of movements for organizational unity, but in the confession of *one* Lord and Head, it already exists as the expression of the *one* indivisible Body of Christ.

Thus affirmation of the confession takes on ecumenical breadth. This is not said because stressing an ecumenical attitude today fits the temper of the times, but because it belongs to the Lutheran confession's understanding of itself. Ecumenical orientation and confessional definitiveness are not in contradiction to one another but condition one another and are mutually salutary. After thorough consideration the compilers of the Book of Concord placed the three Catholic or Oecumenical symbols first as being „in unanimous use in the church“ (singular, not plural!), as witnesses to the faith of the *whole* church and not primarily of the *ancient* church.⁴ The Lutheran church does not want to be a sect. She dates her beginning not from the close of the Middle Ages but from the beginning of the church at Pentecost; she is not concerned about confessional particularity but always ultimately and most deeply about the *one* church of Christ. And only for this reason must she see to it that in the one church the voice of the *one* Shepherd, and it alone, is sounded and heard. Even in the sharpest controversies with Rome this attitude was assumed by the confessions of our church.

And only therefore is there a particular confessional form, because the truth and purity of the divine Word and its proclamation is not recognized and preserved everywhere to the same degree; therefore, beside ecumenical breadth there is confessional definitiveness which makes it impossible to level every concrete contour to inane generality in the name of Christian brotherhood. Without confessional definitiveness the ecumenical attitude could lead either to sentimental world-wide fraternization [schwarmgeistige Weltverbrüderung] of Christians or to hazy unionism; with the lack of ecumenical breadth this would result, however, in a ghetto existence of „rigid confessionalism“ to which objection then could justly be taken.

By affirming the confession the individual's ministry is incorporated into the church's fellowship. This is true temporally as well as spatially. The confession expresses the continuity of faith and doctrine from generation to generation. The formulated confession, it is true, is connected to a definite situation in time, „a witness and explanation of faith as the Holy Scriptures were understood and expounded each time by those then living.“⁵ But since the confession of the fathers is and becomes the confession of the sons as well, it is a vessel of church doctrine at the same time, in Werner Elert's expression „the stable element in the preaching of the church“.⁶

Perhaps it can be made clear by the situation of a pastor newly arrived in a congregation, what the unbroken chain of proclamation, this genuine *successio evangelii*, means. The new pastor does not need to start from scratch, he continues building where others have done so before and where others will do so after him. Individual pastors change; theological currents rise and fall;

⁴ The questions of history and symbolics that are connected with this statement cannot be treated here.

⁵ Introduction to the Formula of Concord.

⁶ W. Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums I*, p. 177.

what remains is the Gospel and the responsibility to preach this Gospel truly and purely. The confession delineates this clear, unified, continuous line.

Thus to be bound to the confession makes clear that we who minister in the church, each one in his place with his limited responsibility, are not isolated from one another like driftwood in an open sea, but are included in a definite system of co-ordination, in which our individual ministry has its definite place in the total task of the church. In this point mere individualism is rejected, a "church tower horizon" is overcome and the basis is laid for genuine unity and team work in the church.

The personal orientation of the ministry is safeguarded, the confession—which is basically a confession of Christ—being a personal statement of faith. Yet at the same time the wilful orientation of one's own ministry „everyone being his own Pope“, is overcome, for it is but a caricature of evangelical freedom of doctrine and faith.

Being bound to the confession as incorporation into the church's fellowship means not only a help for the preaching ministry but also a *safeguard*. It safeguards the congregation, as we have said, from the wilfulness of the preacher, preventing with every change in pastor a change also in the content of preaching, with today this, tomorrow the contrary being preached. It gives the congregation a spiritual right, and if necessary also the right of church law, to demand of its pastors scriptural proclamation and administration of the sacraments. The church struggle in Germany has shown what unsuspected practical importance this right can have in the struggle of a confessing congregation. But this being bound serves also as a safeguard to the pastor. It safeguards him against unjustified claims on his preaching brought by persons within and outside his congregation: he must not preach what the ears of men itch to hear, but rather the clear truth of the biblical Gospel to which the confessions witness and nothing else. Being bound to the confession equally serves to safeguard the preacher against himself; it keeps him from being susceptible to false doctrines, from giving himself over to his favorite theological opinions or from losing himself out of bounds in ideas that do not accord with the Gospel. Help and protection for the church's preaching ministry—we see that it is a wide area in which the confession's theological significance is unfolded for the individual minister in office.

Two questions arising from what we have said demand an answer. Are not the exclusive claim and the unconditioned priority of the Word of God of the Holy Scriptures being slighted if such emphasis is placed on the confession and again and again it is said: the confession as guide, the confession as help, the confession as protection? Is not the confession being illegitimately made independent and set up as a second authority beside the Scriptures? And does not this ultimately result in a situation similar to the co-ordination of scripture and tradition which we so decisively reject in Roman Catholicism? Our task here is not to investigate the historical development of doctrine in Lutheranism.

It should not be denied that the co-ordination of scripture and tradition—"Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr"—has quite generally been illegitimately stressed and the danger not always avoided of making the *norma normata* in effect the *norma normans*. But misuse and misunderstanding do not put an end to the right use and understanding. If we were to ask of the confessions of our church what they think of themselves they would not even dream of claiming special authority in addition to that of the authority of scripture. By being bound to the confession we do not make "articles of faith out of the works or words of the holy Fathers". What Luther says about Augustine in the Smalcald Articles is also true in the relation to the Fathers of the Reformation: Without confirmation by the Scriptures their words are not to be tolerated. Strictly and exclusively the confession's self-evaluation limits itself: "God's Word should set articles of faith and no one else". Only a collection of such articles of faith from the Word of God, as a summary of the truths of Scripture, and as pointers to their central content do the confessional writings claim authority, an authority, however, which they really do claim: Scripture as the "judge" has spoken and confirms the testimony of the "witnesses".

Should the insight be gained from the Word of God that the confession is not scriptural, it is clear that in the same moment the confession for the very sake of the confession must be sacrificed in favor of the truth of Scripture and correspondingly changed. Such proof, though, has not been brought to date. This may not be true of every individual formulation. The Lutheran confession, too, has its temporal theological form and is affected by change in theological development. But if we take the confessions as a whole and look to their substance the verdict stands, especially in affirmation of being bound exclusively to the Word of God of the Holy Scriptures, that here in full clarity the Gospel is presented as Gospel, as the sum and quintessence of the Holy Scriptures and its understanding. Briefly: the recognition of the confession does not mean setting up a second authority in addition to scriptural authority but rather means taking seriously being bound exclusively to the Word of God. In the confession the church binds itself precisely to the revealed truth of Holy Scripture.

In this way we have the answer to the other question, how being bound to the confession is to be put into practice, whether the individual's freedom to mold his proclamation of the Word of God in individual character isn't really being inadmissibly shackled. The confessional oath is to be maintained in a spiritual and not doctrinally legalistic or juridical manner. The confession, as we have said, wants nothing other than to guarantee access to the Holy Scriptures. Therefore it offers us no ready recipe but rather gives us the broad outline for a relevant proclamation of the Gospel, which should determine in all liberty of personal choice today's teaching and preaching. The confession does not deny the minister today the responsibility of making the Gospel present, but rather it offers him starting help to do so. Only in an

illegitimate, legalistic use of the confession would the reproach be justified that in being bound to the Reformation confession both preacher and congregation are being forcibly pressed into the 16th century.

So much on the question of the theological significance of the confession for the individual pastor. The second aspect mentioned above, the pastoral significance of the confession, recedes into the background in the customary treatment. The descent is unmistakable: in the foreground there is the public validity of the confession for church and church doctrine; then, less strongly emphasized though also still significant, the theological importance of the confession for the individual minister—the ordination oath, being bound to doctrine, etc; the importance for pastoral theology, if it is mentioned at all, comes last. And yet it must not be overlooked. When it occurs to a person, even if belatedly, he will again and again be astonished how fruitful this view can be. The confessions should not just be studied but also meditated upon: It pays to read them sometimes not for their normative theological significance, but under another aspect: What does this or that section mean for me personally, as admonition but also as comfort and encouragement for my ministry? This way can serve to overcome the brusque and irrelevant appearance of the confessions, which makes an approach difficult for many not yet at home in them.

How the confessions can have a pastoral ministry can be variously developed but we shall only present three examples for illustration. The pastoral significance of the confession consists in pointing the way again and again to the center of our ministry and to the source of power of its daily mastery. The Augsburg Confession can be read as a sum of 28 articles, as a short outline of evangelical dogmatics and ethics, but the Augustana can also be understood as a multitude of variations on *one* theme, so that it is basically but a paraphrase, a repetition and unfolding of one article, the article on justification. Here in the expression *gratis, propter Christum, per fidem* we have a central statement, which we also find in the Smalcald Articles in the expression about the *primus et principalis articulus*. We also need only recall how Luther's explanation of the second article of the creed forms the heart of the Small Catechism, around which all other parts are ordered. Our ministry too takes its life from the relationship to this center to which our confessions always are pointing. The confession helps us by directing us again and again to this center. The question is put to us in the manifold tasks placed upon us by our ministry in the course of daily life: Do we live from this center, are we really rooted in it? The ministry is many-sided and has many branches. Again and again a minister is pressed by inescapable demands to the periphery of the ministry. It is doubly important not to lose oneself on the periphery, not to remain embedded in matters external to the office of the ministry, but again and again to find one's way back to the center. The confession can and will

help us by teaching us to respect the christological and therefore soteriological direction and interrelation of all its statements.

A second example is offered us in the fifth article of the Augsburg Confession which, because of its importance, is always being introduced in discussions on the right understanding of the church. This article and similar passages teach us to understand the church's office as a *ministry* of the means of grace instituted in the church by God, through which the Holy Ghost in His freedom works faith in the hearts of those who receive them. Here are also important pastoral implications. In that the office is emphatically described as ministry, every hyperconscious concept of the calling, all cavorting with clerical claims is checked and the emphasis that the effect of the ministry depends on the free activity of the Spirit undermines every false security, every imagination that we ourselves could accomplish it. In this point we are made very small, modest and humble. We are only ministers, attendants of the Holy Spirit, administrators of the means of grace whom God Himself appoints and needs—and this is not just a pious phrase, but is meant literally.

At the same time this points to the other aspect: That this ministry has a clearly outlined purpose and that great things have been committed and promised to us. Article V of the Augustana stands as a bridge between articles IV and VI. Article IV offers the decisive basic statement on the justification of the sinner which supports the life of the believer; article VI is concerned with the new life which grows out of justification as the fruit of faith. In between, in relation to both, stands our ministry, a more eminent place could not be given it. "*Ut hanc fidem consequamur*", in order that we men might obtain this faith—for this purpose we are there, we are entrusted with the ministry. That is height and breadth of purpose. We should aid in doing what ultimately God alone can do: bring men to faith. The Spirit of God works faith where and when He wills, but He wills to do it by means of our ministry. It pleases Him to let us in our ministry be means and instruments of His activity.

There is a question whether we pastors really take this promise connected with our ministry seriously. Certainly we do it theoretically. But are we always sure of this practically? Do we as preachers enter the pulpit on Sundays conscious that God wants that men come to faith by means of the sermon this day? Or to put it the other way: Do we really count on something "happening" in our services?—Thus we are kept, by what article V says about the ministry, from both false presumption and security, but also from false littleness of faith. We are only *ministers*, true, only stewards with a task. But at the same time *authorized* ministers to whom God's promise for their ministry has been given, that as the fruit of this ministry faith shall arise in the hearts of men in the power of the Holy Spirit.

As the last example for the pastoral significance which the confessions can have is to be found in the Smalcald Articles. In part III, the article on the Gospel says that God does not give the Gospel in just one form and mentions

the forms in which the Gospel is offered, from the oral Word of public preaching down to the *mutuum colloquium* and the *consolatio fratrum*. How we in the church of Luther have forgotten that! God does not give the Gospel in just one form—how that has narrowed and crusted in the church: civil servant mentality, “one-man system”, topheavy organization, the exclusive pattern of Sunday preaching, etc., etc.

But God does not want pattern and individual in isolation. He gives the Gospel in many forms and opens to us a wide area. In addition to the ministry, growing out of the church’s one office properly speaking or in co-ordination with it, there are various offices and ministries. We are not to suppose that we stand alone in our pastoral existence on the field. Our eyes are closed if we do not see that there are other persons who can and want to help in the ministry of the congregation. The Gospel is offered in variety, in total abundance, from the public, ordained ministry down to the free, unforced speech of brother to brother. When so many complaints are heard from pastors that there are so few co-workers in the congregation it means that eyes should be opened. Perhaps such co-workers are there and are but waiting for a call. They have just not been discovered. Therefore the necessity for ever renewed prayer, that our eyes be opened and, in addition, for trust in God’s promise that we shall not stand alone.

Has not every pastor often to his own shame experienced, perhaps in a sick visit or a pastoral case, how when he himself had had no real contact at all and therefore believed everything to be “dead”, suddenly real faith became manifest, or more of Christian substance maintained than he had thought? God does not only have recourse to our ministry, He can also channel His Gospel to men through other means. What a great lift this can mean especially for the true and conscientious worker who finds himself in the midst of a non-churchly field of work to be able to say, “It is not I alone who must do everything; everything doesn’t depend on what I accomplish or do not accomplish.” Again: God does not want the ministry turned to itself alone. He still gives the church today an abundance of gifts and places co-workers and helpers at the side of His ministers (I Cor. 12).

These examples are only to serve as illustrations for the many-branched pastoral significance which the confession of our church contains. May they give courage and joy to proceed along this road, to read the confessions from time to time, not for dogmatic instruction, but under this pastoral aspect.

In closing we recapitulate: The confession of the church does not only have importance for the church’s life together in the service of keeping pure the proclamation and in guarding against false doctrine, but in this point it is both a gift and an responsibility for the service of the individual minister of the church. It is not only norm and measure for the help and protection of our preaching, but equally help and guidance for our true inner attitude toward the ministry and for the daily surmounting of responsibilities that assail us.

The confession is this, and can be all this, because in its center (even when it is expanded to become the Book of Concord, yes even when it apparently loses itself in the underbrush of subtle, minute, theological, doctrinal discussions) it is, nevertheless, always and ultimately confession of Christ, confession of Him from whom all service in the church receives its responsibility, fulfillment and authority.

It is not true at all that dogma is "hopelessly irrelevant" to the life and thought of the average man. What is true is that ministers of the Christian religion often assert that it is, present it for consideration as though it were, and, in fact, by their faulty exposition of it make it so. The central dogma of the Incarnation is that by which relevance stands or falls. If Christ was only man, then He is entirely irrelevant to any thought about God; if He is only God, then He is entirely irrelevant to any experience of human life. It is, in the strictest sense, necessary to the salvation of relevance that a man should believe rightly the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Unless he believes rightly, there is not the faintest reason why he should believe at all.

Dorothy L. Sayers
Creed or Chaos?

Worship and Sacrifice

Our theme touches a point of interconfessional controversy. Apart from monasticism as the foundation on which the Papacy was built, Luther saw its greatest "abomination" in the sacrifice of the mass. In the history of Lutheranism, to be sure, this question concerning the idea of sacrifice in worship had hardly been touched for a long time. If now the question of the Lord's Supper and sacrifice is opening up again in many places and is becoming the object of a thorough-going investigation within evangelical Christendom also, it would appear absolutely necessary to handle the question from the way it was decisively put during the Reformation period itself. If we do not do this we will run the danger of withdrawing from the problems presented by conversation with the Catholic church.

From this point of view the question of worship and sacrifice becomes, primarily, a question of the relationship of the Lord's Supper and sacrifice. Just here was where the *status controversiae* of the Reformation period lay, and where the chief problem of our own time lies as well.

First we wish to present briefly Luther's objections to the sacrifice of the mass. In *De captivitate babylonica* and in his *Treatise on the New Testament* Luther takes exception to two things: First, the mass has been made into a "work"; and second, the Sacrament has been made into a "sacrifice". These are two quite different viewpoints which overflow into each other in presentation, but which can very well be viewed separately.

The first—the mass as a work—has to do with the piety of the mass. Whereas the Lord's Supper, according to the Words of Institution, is purely a gift of God, the mass had been turned into a kind of performance on the part of man. Here, where God Himself sets the table and everything is so completely prepared that, on our part, nothing else is asked than a thirsty soul, humility, and readiness to receive, men now began, instead, to busy themselves with their own preparation, their own worthiness before God and their own expressions of piety. The mass was simply made to serve that work-righteousness which is the religion of the natural man.

The result is either despair or else the false security which is, in fact, its immediate neighbor. In both instances this work-righteousness means an abrogation of the completed work of Christ on the cross. If we make the mass into a work, we scorn that Blood shed for the sake of grace. The mass,

is, therefore, a constant re-crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and that is also true of pilgrimages, alms and the other selfchosen deeds of selfcentered piety.

We should like to linger at this point a moment. Seen historically, this objection is really the only one that continued to be raised to the sacrifice of the mass. This is already apparent in Melanchthon's *Apology to the Augsburg Confession*, Art. XXIV of which is to examine: "quid sit sacrificium, et quae sint sacrificii species" [what a sacrifice is, and what the kinds of sacrifice are]. It is characteristic of his whole treatment that Melanchthon begins with the concept of "*ceremonia oder heilig Werk*" [ceremony, or a sacred action or work]. His interest is in the liturgical action and his question ultimately is this: What should a Christian think of the action in the Lord's Supper? This determines his whole treatment of the subject. *Ceremonia* is the overall concept under which he includes two others: The first is *sacramentum*—"in quo Deus nobis exhibet hoc, quod offert annexa ceremoniae promissio" [sacrament—in which God gives to us that which the promise connected with the ceremony offers]. The essential thing in the Sacrament is, therefore, that God grants something to us through it. As an example he can mention Baptism which is a ceremony or work which we do not present to God, but through which God gives us the forgiveness of sins according to His promise. The second concept is *sacrificium*—"quod nos Deo reddimus, ut eum honore afficiamus" [sacrifice—that which we render God in order to bestow Him with honor]. Sacrifice is an action directed toward God, a human action to His glory.

Furthermore, Melanchthon explains that there are two kinds of sacrifice: sacrifice of propitiation and sacrifice of thanksgiving. In order to show that, rightly understood, the Lord's Supper also has the character of a sacrifice, Melanchthon uses a method of logical reduction. The Eucharist cannot be a sacrifice of propitiation for there is only one sacrifice of propitiation in the New Covenant, namely, the sacrifice on Calvary. The only other possibility is a sacrifice of thanksgiving. That the Lord's Supper cannot possibly be a sacrifice of propitiation follows from the unequivocal fact that, according to the New Testament, there is no work which works *ex opere operato*. The true sacrifice of praise is the proclamation of the Gospel, faith, petition, prayer. The Lord's Supper can "be used" as such a sacrifice of praise, or thanksgiving by the conscience, freed from fear, "making use" of ceremony *ad laudem Dei* [to the praise of God].

It is clear, as has been said, that Melanchthon, when speaking of the mass as a work, is motivated by the same interest as Luther. The viewpoint from which the action of the Lord's Supper is seen, is expressed in the question: What should the right attitude of the person be when receiving the Lord's Supper? The persistent tendency is to reject any idea of *ex opere operato*.

For our interconfessional conversation Melanchthon's way of stating the problem has been fateful, and for more than one reason. First of all because

the Catholic standpoint hardly has been given full justice; at any rate, it would be very unjust to repeat this polemic today and use it upon all areas in which the theology of the sacrifice of the mass confronts us today in the Catholic church. The Catholic understanding of Christ as the *principalis offerens* [the person offering] was not taken into consideration in this connection by Melancthon. However this term is to be understood, in any case it is necessary to come to terms with it. Furthermore, it must be said that, also in Catholic circles, no one maintains that the liturgical act as such has the power of propitiation. The efficacy of the sacrifice of the mass has its basis in the fact that the sacrifice is Christ's own sacrifice. As the sacrifice of the Church—and here the liturgical aspect may be brought in—the sacrifice of the mass works *quasi ex opere operato* [i. e., by the mere completion of the act], and as the sacrifice of the celebrating priest and of those who co-sacrifice it works *ex opere operantis*, that is, *secundum dispositionem offerentium* [by the act of the one doing it, that is, according to the spiritual condition of those offering the sacrifice].

Above all, it must be emphasized that Melancthon, in concentrating exclusively on the action in the Lord's Supper and its use by the Christian, did not penetrate to the real and deepest concern of the Catholic theology of the sacrifice of the mass. Bellarmine has showed this convincingly. He points out that Melancthon does not get at the real center of the point in question. Melancthon, he declares, overlooks that *sacrificium* is not only an *act*, but that in order for there to be a sacrifice there also needs to be an offering, *something to be sacrificed*. "In omni sacrificio proprie dicto requiritur res aliqua sensibilis, quae offertur, nec in sola actione sacrificium consistere potest." [In every sacrifice, properly speaking, a certain visible thing to be offered is required, for sacrifice cannot consist in mere action.] As authority, he points, among other things, to Gen. 22:7, "Ecce ignis et ligna, ubi est victima holocausti?" ["Behold, the fire and the wood, but where is the victim for a burnt offering?"]

That this objection from Catholic thought is thoroughly to the point, can hardly be doubted without, at the same time, stress being placed upon the offering, the Host. In this connection we need only think of the well-known passage from the canons of the Council of Trent, session XXII, 2. There the identity of the sacrifice of Calvary and that of the mass is spoken of in these words: "Una enim eademque est hostia, indem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui se ipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa." [For there is one and the same Victim, now offering through the ministry of priests, who then offered Himself upon the cross, the only difference being in the means of being offered.] The identity of the sacrifice of Calvary with the sacrifice of the mass is twofold. The offering itself is the same, the Body and

1 Robert Bellarmine, Latin works, Paris: 1870-74, Tom. III, *De missa*, Liber I, Cap. II.

Blood of Christ being presented to God as a sacrifice in each case. And the sacrificing Priest is the same, insofar as Christ is the *principalis offerens*. The act of sacrifice, on the other hand, is different. (The attempt of individual theologians belonging to the liturgical movement to show an identity in the act of sacrifice as well, and thus substantiate a threefold identity, seems not to have found very general recognition among Catholic theologians.) The identity of the sacrifice of Calvary and that of the mass consists, above all, in the offering, "*illa munda oblatio*" [that pure oblation], being the same. So the distinction is made in Catholic theology between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* in view of the use of the elements: "*Rationem sacrificii habet, in quantum offeretur; rationem autem sacramenti, in quantum sumitur.*" [It has the meaning of sacrifice insofar as it is offered; and the meaning of sacrament insofar as it is received.]²

It is striking that Bellarmine begins from the sacramental order or—if one so desires—from the *essence* of the Sacrament, whereas Melanchthon only speaks of the liturgical *action* and the *use* of the Sacrament. Bellarmine puts the question whether the Body and Blood of Christ can also be considered a Host [*i. e.* a Victim], and whether the Eucharist is merely a sacrament or whether it can also be considered a sacrifice. Melanchthon, on the other hand, raises the question of the character of the action in the Lord's Supper. The question of the Lord's Supper and sacrifice has not been stated correctly until we clarify this relationship. All too often Protestants speak of the Lord's Supper and sacrifice, presentation and oblation, without really making clear whether one is speaking about a relationship that belongs to the essence of the Sacrament, or whether one is disregarding a truly sacramental relationship and is speaking about the "use" of the Sacrament.

However, Bellarmine shows that Luther—in contrast to Melanchthon—took this point into consideration, an investigation of which ought to be urgently considered. We thus can go on to Luther's chief objection against the sacrifice of the mass: it had been made into a sacrifice.

It is apparent that Luther is no longer speaking of one's attitude in communing or only of the "use" of the Sacrament. He is much more concerned with the Sacrament as such. He focused on the real center of the theology of the sacrifice of the mass. Of course, we cannot go into detail in this point any more than in the other sections of our presentation. However, it must be pointed out that Luther viewed sacrifice and communion as antagonistic concepts. That which is sacrificed to God cannot be received by us, and *vice versa*. Above all, Christ's words of institution show that the Body and Blood of Christ are offered in the Lord's Supper to the disciples, but not to God. Luther rejects the thought of the sacrifice of the mass not only because the mass is thus made into a work of human piety, but also because he understands the Sacrament, Christ's Body and Blood, to be the Host.

² Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, III, 79, 5.

The decisive question for Melanchthon was, in how far the sacrifice of the Lord's Supper was to be admitted as propitiation or as thanksgiving. At this point also Bellarmine directed a critical remark: the first question is not whether there is here a sacrifice of propitiation or a sacrifice of thanksgiving, but the first question is whether the Sacrament is a sacrifice at all. "*Alia est controversia prior, utrum vere, ac proprium sacrificium offeratur.*" [There is another controversy which is prior to this: whether it is true that a proper sacrifice is offered.]³

Characteristically, Luther also does not think of the first question as being whether or not one should speak of a sacrifice of propitiation or of thanksgiving in regard to the Lord's Supper. His intention is to show that the Sacrament is no sacrifice at all. This is clearly shown from his *Exhortation on the Sacrament* of 1530. The historical background of this writing is, as is well known, the union negotiations which took place at this time. It shows that Luther knew of the compromise proposal of the Catholics according to which the Lord's Supper was to be called a *sacrificium memoriale*. There was to be no mention of it as a sacrifice of propitiation. But even if the Lord's Supper is allowed to be called a *sacrificium memoriale* instead of a *sacrificium propitiatorium* it is still being thought of as a sacrifice. That means that in the hand and mouth of the layman the Sacrament is merely a sacrament, but in the hand and mouth of the priest it is a sacrifice. For Luther the Sacrament itself is no sacrifice.⁴ But the reception and "use" of the Sacrament can be designated as a sacrifice, a sacrifice of praise.

Thus we have touched the real problem. For the relationship of the Sacrament—or the Real Presence—and sacrifice is the problematical point. In our present theological situation this problem resolves itself again into a series of individual problems which should be mentioned briefly.

Modern Catholic theologians, especially those who belong to the liturgical movement, are seeking to understand this sacramental reality from the point of view of their "*Mysterientheologie*". The word "mystery" should not be taken intellectually. According to Odo Casel the word means specifically *not* a "doctrine", but a cultic-mystic experience of the Divine.⁵ It signifies the liturgical act through which the historical "act of salvation" is "made present". The mystery, in its sacramental character, is neither bound to the limits of time nor of space. It is the task of the Sacrament to preserve the *act* of redemption that happened in history as a continuing reality in the Church. Not only applied grace, but the *act of redemption itself* is thus present. The Sacrament "brings back the past, it is the voice of the present, it reveals the future".⁶ Protestant theologians have paid a certain amount of attention to this idea, the reason in some cases probably being that the expressions of this school

³ Bellarmine, *op. cit.*, Cap. V.

⁴ cf. Weimar edition of Luther's works (WA), XXXii, 612, 30.

⁵ *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, XV, p. 278.

⁶ Anscar Vonier, "A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist", in *Collected Works*, II, 1952.

concerning the "*representatio*" were thought to be in contrast to the usual Catholic teaching about the sacrifice of the mass as a "repetition" of the sacrifice of Christ. Nevertheless, this is a misunderstanding in every respect. Even within the Protestant fold similar thoughts are becoming noticeable. In connection with the Lord's Supper it is often said that Christ's *act of sacrifice* "is made present". In this view lies the possibility of a connecting link to the idea of sacrifice in the Lord's Supper.

It is not our intention to enter upon the many complicated questions connected with *Mysterientheologie* and the presence of Christ's act of sacrifice. Our question is simply whether it is possible to legitimize these or similar views on the basis of Evangelical faith.

We must raise the following serious question: Can examination show that the idea of a presence of Christ's act of sacrifice finds clear support in the *New Testament*? Within Catholicism, evidently, one can draw upon parallels from the history of religion and thus begin to theorize on worship in general. The fundamental Catholic view of the relationship of nature and grace allows that type of thinking: *Gratia non tollit naturam sed perficit*. [Grace does not abolish nature, but perfects it.] Of course, now and then there has arisen, also among Catholics, resistance to this idea. At any rate, the Evangelical church cannot use such a method, except if its use can be defended with clear statements from the New Testament. Certainly statements can be found in the New Testament concerning the Lord's Supper as an eschatological event, insofar as the Lord's Supper is an anticipation of communion with Christ and the saints in that perfected Kingdom of God. In chapter 5 of Revelation we meet the idea that Christ's sacrifice is eternally present before God in heaven. But to conclude from this that evidence has been furnished for connecting this statement with the idea that Christ's act of sacrifice is present in the sacramental act of worship, appears to be more than doubtful.

In addition, the question ought to be raised: Can the idea of a presence "*in mysterio*" of Christ's act of sacrifice be harmonized with the New Testament teaching of Christ's vicarious sacrifice? These reflections are meant to give new life to the anthesis of the Reformation. Catholic consciousness can cling without difficulty to the idea of an "unbloody" sacrifice of Christ or of His act of sacrifice being present today. However, for Luther the thought of an unbloody sacrifice was unacceptable and he undoubtedly would have passed the same judgment on the idea of a presence of the sacrifice of Christ. The contrast is rooted in the difference in the understanding of the atonement. According to Catholic understanding "sacrifice" has, primarily, an active meaning. Sacrifice is something which is presented to God *ad eum placendum* [in order to please Him].⁷ It is just as clear, on the other hand, that for Luther Christ's sacrifice is primarily, if not exclusively, something passive. To be

⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *op. cit.*, III, 48, 3

sacrificed means to suffer death. The atonement, which is viewed by Catholics in the light of merit, is for Luther the vicarious suffering of punishment under the wrath of God. In a way totally different from the Catholics, Luther lays stress on the once for all valid event of the atonement, on the fact that the atonement "*consummatum est*". ["It is finished"]. What is to be sacrificed must suffer death. That is why Luther accuses the Catholic mass of being a re-crucifixion of Jesus Christ, without being bothered by the fact that this wasn't Catholic teaching at all. This reproach was a necessary consequence of his teaching on the atonement. If the sacrifice of Christ is identical with His suffering of death under the wrath of God, then He can neither be sacrificed, nor can He sacrifice Himself here and now, for that would be to say that He were to die here and now, which is an impossibility. If we wish to speak about Christ's act of sacrifice being present in and with the celebration of the Sacrament, we should first of all be certain that such an expression is possible without putting into question the "uniqueness" of the atonement wrought through Christ.

Another series of problems is connected with the understanding of Christ as *principalis agens* [the person acting] and our offering of ourselves during the Eucharist. Evangelical analysis also has been concerned with some of these ideas. Indeed in our study of this point we have drawn considerably closer to the Catholic position. For here also it is the question of the Sacrament as such and not only of a liturgical act. Those ideas which describe a unity of the believer with Christ in the eucharistic sacrifice play a large rôle in modern Catholicism, as we know. Christ is the *principalis offerens* of the sacrifice of the mass. The question is asked: To what extent can it be said of Christ that he sacrifices not only *virtualiter* but also *actualiter*? — [not only virtually but also actually]. In other words, the question is whether Christ „makes a new act of sacrifice" with each new mass. The latter is accepted by those theologians who honor, in one form or another, the theory of oblation. Apart from them, however, there is by no means general agreement. In any case, though, a connection is accepted between the sacrifice of the mass, whose metaphysical character is explained from the double consecration, and Christ as the eternally active High Priest in heaven. The faithful are drawn into this sacrifice of Christ. The life of the church consists in co-acting with Christ. She lives and acts together with Him who is her Head. This acting reaches its high point in the sacrifice of the mass, through which the church outwardly offers the eucharistic sacrifice, and inwardly surrenders herself in the act sacrificing. Thus Christ's sacrifice becomes the church's sacrifice. "He has committed His sacrifice to her in order that she present it as her sacrifice."⁸ Similar ways of thinking have recently come into their own outside the Roman church, too. We are confronted here by an attempt to

⁸ G. L. Bauer, "Das heilige Messopfer im Lichte des heiligen Thomas", in *Divus Thomas*, 1950, p. 25.

identify a connection between our sacrifice and a special sacramental relationship. This attempt deserves our attention. Reference is made not just to our "intention to sacrifice" during the action of the Lord's Supper, but beyond that, of a connection of this intention to the sacramental event as such. By referring to what we have previously said we could also formulate this situation in this way: The mass is being spoken of not only as a work, but also as a sacrifice.

It was hoped to find support for such a view from Luther, and the well-known passage in his *Treatise on the New Testament* is readily quoted: "To be sure, this sacrifice of prayer, praise and thanksgiving, and of ourselves, we are not to present before God in our own person, but we are to lay it on Christ and let Him present it, as St. Paul teaches in Hebrews 13: 'Let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of the lips which confess Him and praise Him', and all this through Christ. For He is also a priest, as Psalm 110 says: 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek'; because He intercedes for us in heaven, receives our prayer and sacrifice, and through Himself, as a godly priest, makes them pleasing to God, . . .".⁹

Luther here clearly places the Lord's Supper, Christ's highpriestly work in heaven, and our offering of ourselves in association. The question is, though, what kind of an association it is. In view of the train of thought which we have tried to follow in this presentation, the decisive problem arises whether this connection between the Lord's Supper, Christ's highpriestly work in heaven, and our offering of ourselves belongs to the sacramental order as such; in other words, whether this connection, so to speak, takes effect through and with the consummation of the Sacrament, (the consecration; perhaps consecration and communion), or whether this connection is only of incidental character. If the former is true, then there is a connecting line between Luther and Catholic thought.

We cannot go into this question any more deeply at this point. However, it seems that there are those who—because of their interest in those expressions of Luther according to which the mass represents, in a certain sense, a sacrifice—are prepared to forget those much more powerfully emphasized expressions with which Luther wanted to show in what sense the mass is *not* a sacrifice. First Luther says, "Not that we offer the sacrament, but that by our praise, prayer and sacrifice we move Him and give Him occasion to offer Himself for us in heaven, and ourselves with Him."¹⁰ It is not the Sacrament, not the Body and Blood of Christ that is sacrificed, but simply our thanksgiving and praise. In addition Luther says that Christ's sacrifice takes place "without ceasing" and that our sacrifice should be offered "at all times", but at the same time it does not "necessarily and essentially" belong to the mass. Christ's sacrifice in heaven is, for Luther, nothing other than His continuous

⁹ *Works of Martin Luther*, Phila. ed., I, p. 314; WA, VI, 368.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 314 f.; WA, VI 369.

intercession, our sacrifice nothing other than the daily sacrifice of praise involved in dying unto self. This is the exercise of the universal priesthood, which takes place in such a way that "we may there come together and offer such sacrifice in common". Within Catholicism Christ's act of sacrifice in the mass is always viewed as something different from His general intercession, whereas in Luther such a distinction cannot be found. For Luther the eucharistic sacrifice has nothing to do with either the Real Presence or with the Sacrament. It is—to use a formulation with which Adolph Allwohn characterizes Luther's attitude toward worship—simply an individual occurrence of that which should always be there.¹¹

Not Luther's understanding of worship can be decisive for us, however, but exclusively the witness of the New Testament. We must limit ourselves again to but a few suggestions. The validity of the view with which we are concerned at present is dependent upon whether it can be established from the New Testament that in some way there is a connection between Christ's intercession and the Lord's Supper. Further, it is dependent upon whether there is another connection between the self-offering of the believer and the Lord's Supper, above and beyond that connection which exists simply in his consciousness. In addition, the validity of this view will be decided by the question whether according to the New Testament our self-offering can be seen to be connected with Christ's sacrifice, His sacrifice on Calvary with His intercession in heaven, or whether it is not much more the case that the sacrifice of Jesus Christ is unique, taking place in absolute loneliness. And finally, the validity of such a view depends decisively on whether the assumption that in and with a sacramental act a human self-offering takes place can be reconciled with the New Testament concept of faith. Against this assumption is the question, whether it is not an impossible assumption simply because the New Testament understands faith to be a necessary part of sacrifice. At every one of these points one ought to come to grips with the exegesis of the Reformation.

A third group of problems concerns the relationship of communion and sacrifice. In Roman Catholicism the two usually are not treated together, especially because it is assumed of the priest that he offers sacrifice *in persona Christi* [representing Christ], whereas he communes *in propria persona* [in his own person]. However, we find this the more emphasized, then, in Anglican and occasionally also in more recent Lutheran theology, in which the attempt is made to show that the eucharistic meal is "the chief way in which to obtain a share in the Christ-sacrifice".¹² On the Anglican side the concept of sacrifice is used to maintain that sacrifice is in no way just the slaughter of the sacrificial lamb, but rather the sacrificial meal itself is part of the sacrifice.¹³ On the

¹¹ Adolph Allwohn, *Gottesdienst und Rechtfertigungsglaube*, Luthers Grundlegung evangelischer Liturgik bis zum Jahre 1523, Göttingen: 1926, p. 7.

¹² Rudolph Stählin, "Das Herrenmahl als Opfer", in *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1949, pp. 263–266.

¹³ C. N. Hicks, "The Eucharistic Sacrifice", in *Ways of Worship: The Report of a Theological Commission of Faith and Order*, London: SCM Press, 1951, p. 207.

Lutheran side this motive can—as has actually been done—be connected with a strong emphasis on the Real Presence. Thus it can be said that we receive in the Lord's Supper the same sacrifice which once was presented on Calvary. For in receiving here on earth the gift of the mercy of God in this unique way, namely in the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the sacrifice of thanksgiving can rise higher from no other place than from the place where the gift of grace is received.

This view is thoroughly plausible in its evangelical intention. Nevertheless, it is necessary to test the concept of a "sacrificial meal" with the New Testament. The meaning of this expression could lie in "partaking" of the sacrifice through communion. This is doubtless a New Testament thought. We partake through communion of the same Body and Blood that was given unto death. But we ought to be sure that the expression "sacrificial meal" is appropriate to describe this relationship. The expression appears much more to indicate that through the communion one actively "takes part" in the sacrifice. Many objections must be raised against this, however. For such a way of thinking would tend to obliterate the distinction between the "*factum passionis*" and the "*usus passionis*", something which Luther has pointed out. That communion is an act of sacrifice is not indicated in any passage of the New Testament. The form of the verb ἐκχυνόμενον [to be shed] appears in the present, thus pointing to something that is going to happen *soon*. The expression, therefore, talks of Jesus' death on the cross and not that His Blood is to be shed in the Lord's Supper, as Catholic theologians and, incidentally, Luther also, assumed. In I Cor. 10: 18–21 the Lord's Supper is compared to the Jewish and pagan sacrificial meals, but the parallel is drawn no further than the participation in eating the sacrificial food. Though that communion means participation in the act of sacrifice finds mention nowhere. An important question is also whether the uniqueness of the sacrifice of Christ as a vicarious suffering of punishment must not raise questions concerning the connection of the Real Presence with the terminology of sacrifice. The Body and Blood which we receive *has been* presented to God as a sacrifice; *now* it is a gift received by us.

Our purpose with these—perhaps a bit scattered—remarks was to lay bare the relationship between the idea of sacrifice and the Sacrament or the Real Presence. That the use of the idea of sacrifice in connection with the action of the Lord's Supper can take place without question should be apparent without more ado, so long as the aspect of *thanksgiving* is maintained. It would even be desirable for this idea to find itself a place. The "service" character of our worship services ought to be more strongly emphasized, whereas the penitential attitude and, connected with it, the individualism of traditional Lutheran piety at the Lord's Supper, ought to be limited and corrected by an emphatic stress on the Lord's Supper as communion and eucharist. However, concerning the understanding of Christ's Body and Blood and its reception under the

forms of bread and wine, Luther's distinction between the "Sacrament itself" and the "reception and use of the Sacrament" is thoroughly correct.

There is one thing that must be added to our presentation. A sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving has meaning only through the sacrifice of our own selves, that is, through giving our self up unto death. Perhaps one side of the "reception and use of the Sacrament" thus deserves to be stressed when it comes to talking of worship and sacrifice. The life of the Christian is a life under the sign of Baptism. Through Baptism our whole selfish self has been consecrated unto death. In Baptism we have, as Luther says, stepped out into the Jordan. There, however, are the priests with the ark, whereas the waters begin to cover us. "The priests carry and uphold the ark in Jordan when [in the hour of our death or peril] they preach and administer to us this sacrament . . . Baptism leads us into a new life on earth; the bread guides us through death into eternal life."¹⁴

We, not the Sacrament, are the sacrifice. But we live from the gifts of God's grace, that is, we are led through them from death to life. Sacrifice consists in just this.

This event finds expression in worship through thanksgiving, praise, creed and witness. But a true sacrifice is only this when it is consecrated through faith by daily walking in Baptism, that is, walking in fear and faith, death and resurrection.

At the end of our presentation perhaps a word of Gregory Dix might serve to give a bit of life to what has been said. "The ancient Church", says Dix, "trained the confessors as she had trained the martyrs—by the liturgy."¹⁵ This expression points deeply into the essence of self-sacrifice: "Lo, I come. . . I delight to do thy will, O my God" (Psalm 40: 7–8).

¹⁴ Luther, "A Treatise concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ and concerning the Brotherhoods", 1519, Phila. ed., II, pp. 25 f.; WA, II, 753 f. (The phrase in brackets is omitted in the Weimar edition quoted by the author.)

¹⁵ Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, London: Dacre Press, 1945, p. 394.

The Family and Christian Edukation

Of the changed social structures of our time, it is the institution of the family that has been the hardest hit. The process of the "disintegration of the family", without doubt, has progressed farther in some countries than in others. On the whole, however, the old patriarchal family which had been taken for granted as certainly no matter for debate seems to be in a state of decay, making room for other sociological forms the direction of whose development cannot yet be foreseen.

But even where the family, in its traditional form, is still relatively intact, it is evidently caught in a process of being inwardly undermined, weakened, and secularized, so that it can no longer—or at least only very poorly—fulfil the task of giving a Christian education to its children. According to an immutable law of human life, in this case also, the inner loss of meaning and purpose precedes the final surrender of outward forms and order.

When we speak, therefore, of the task of Christian education in the family we find ourselves in an area which has been the most strongly affected by the upheaval of our times. Here we can count on nothing as self-evident, certain, or generally valid, in either principle or practical application. Therefore it is the more necessary that there be reflection on a task of such vital importance for the Christian church.

The Family and its Educational Mandate

Marriage and the family belong to that fundamental order which God has given the world of Adam and Noah in order to preserve humanity. The family has its place in God's plan of salvation within His worldly realm, which protects the world of man threatened with death and chaos for its redemption and re-creation through Christ in the last days. The family is thus a part of the *bonae creaturae dei et ordinationes divinae* [good creatures of God and divine orders] (*Apology to the Augsburg Confession*, XVI, 1) which neither should nor can redeem the world, but which are ordained to lead it towards its eschatological re-creation. By begetting children, parents are bestowed with an office and a mandate from God to educate them. They are co-workers with God in His rule in this world. Their parental government and authority is an image and a tool of God's government and authority. Their children glorify

God in that they honor their parents and out of love obey them. In this mandate to educate their children given to parents as a "secular or worldly work", sin and death have not been annulled. That is the reason why, for the sake of the old Adam, discipline and punishment are necessary.

However, where the Christian church is gathered through the Word and the Sacraments, there, through the Holy Spirit, the natural life together of the family also becomes an area under the spiritual realm of God. Where the parents live under Christ as their Lord there comes into being a Christian congregation in the home, which leads its life as a member and part of the Christian church. In this case the parents are not just bearers of a sacred office in God's worldly realm, but also servants and messengers of His will to salvation in His spiritual realm. This will essentially determine the character of their educating their children. The worldly task of education will not remain something secular, but will be surrounded and sanctified by the Gospel. Commandments are not invalidated but transformed by the *παίδεια καὶ νομοθεσία κυρίου*, the "discipline and admonition of the Lord" (Eph. 6:4). Parental authority remains, but the parents see in their children the members of the church whom Christ has purchased as His eternal possession. The unchangeable will of God confronts the children in the form which it has taken in the New Testament. Thus the mandate which the Christian family has in education partakes of both the worldly and spiritual government of God.

Among the factors and institutions in education, it is education in the family which is the most basic and by far the most effective. For the growing child the family is the prototype of human society into which he is irrevocably incorporated. As the place in which the child has his first experiences, it molds him to a greater degree than any other institution. That which is unique in family education is the atmosphere of bodily and spiritual security into which the child can grow, the intimate contact with a many-membered but still surveyable group of persons, and the variety of instructive contacts and the length of continuity of the family fellowship. Therefore families with a large number of children have the advantage in educational opportunities over those families with a small number of children, to say nothing of families with but one child. It is a great help in life for a child to be able to grow up in a larger circle of brothers and sisters. On the other hand the only child is exposed from the start to greater difficulties and disturbances.

Although the family is a fundamental phenomenon of human existence, and therefore an absolute prerequisite for human life, as a factor in education it has been called into question from various sides. Of relatively minor importance today is the complete rejection of family education in favor of the society of the future as it has been represented again and again by utopian philosophies (e. g. Plato, Fichte, doctrinaire Marxism of the 19th century). The destruction of a responsible education in the family by the ideologies of the totalitarian states (National Socialism, Soviet pedagogy), is to be taken much more seriously. To

the extent that parents are not completely excluded by the educational activity of the party organizations, they are supposed to be made into puppets of a political doctrine of society and of ideological propaganda. Any resistance of the home to state education and every attempt at responsible leading of children is suppressed with terror. This leads very quickly to a destruction of trust and obedience between parents and children and thus of the very possibility of family education. But while this threat to family education is limited to certain times and countries, the progressing technological development and its social consequences is bringing about such a fundamental change in the original form of family life that the family is becoming more and more unable to fulfil its intrinsic function of education. There are very many factors which are contributing to the disintegration of the family as the original cell of human social life. Among these are: the destruction of many families by war, divorce and inner disruption; the shortage of homes, making genuine family life difficult; the large number of mothers going out to work; the economic reasons for the maintenance of "Uncle" marriages¹; social need the plight of refugees, the feeling of homelessness; alcoholism; the pursuit of pleasure and the materialistic attitudes of parents; unreasonably high standards of living and material demands; long periods of separation for occupational reasons; unrestrained individualism and lack of community ties; lack of family consciousness; dissension and disloyalty with an external maintenance of family ties. All these manifold symptoms of disintegration lead to the result that the family, especially today in an industrialized and technological world, is far from able to fulfil its educational task any longer. This is all the more significant inasmuch as the other educational agencies, the church included, are not able to make up for the defection of the family even with the most strenuous efforts. What is neglected in the family cannot really be compensated for by any other institution.

For the Christian church, therefore, it follows that her task does not in the first instance consist in making good by her educational work that which the family no longer supplies. The most important concern must be directed to guarding against the disintegration of the family, and arming the families that they may be able to carry out to full value their educational mandate.

The Problem of Christian Education

There is a fundamental question which we must keep clearly in mind when we speak of Christian education. It belongs to the essence of education that it seeks to realize attainable goals with those means at its disposal.

¹ Cohabitation that is undertaken outside the law, because along with legal marriage a woman loses her war or widow's pension and support for her children. (Translator.)

It is a wordly task like any other earthly calling. But when it comes to a person becoming a Christian it is not man who acts but the living God, who—as in the beginning—calls His creatures into life out of nothing. Regeneration, faith, conversion, becoming a child of God are all the creative work of the Holy Spirit who blows where He wills (John 3:8). The pedagogical means which we use do not place the sovereign working of the triune God at our disposal. We do not become Christians by a methodical upbringing but through the Word and the Sacraments, through the Holy Spirit and His working in the church. Therefore education and the Gospel must be clearly distinguished from one another. Christian education cannot involve making the Gospel into a theory of education or, conversely, using Christianity for pedagogical purposes. Where that happens a mixture and confusion takes place between education and the Gospel that is damaging to both. There must be a clear distinction between the earthly, human task of educating and the “pneumatic”² event of the eschatological, creative activity of God.

However, we do not wish to say that they can be separated from one another in practical application. This is especially true of education in the family. It is not possible to educate children first in a “worldly” way, or “according to the Old Testament” with the Law, and only later acquaint them with the Gospel of Christ. For they already have been committed to the resurrected Lord by Baptism from the very beginning of their life, and they live with their parents in His church. Nor is it possible just to use the Gospel as an “event” from time to time in the process of a worldly education. For the children live within the Christian family in a world in which the wholeness of life’s relationships is to be conditioned by Christ and His discipleship. That means that Law and Gospel, the worldly and the spiritual, the fleshly and the pneumatic, must dwell side by side and be closely bound to one another. We cannot educate just with the Gospel. Commands must have their place because we do not deal with perfected saints and with those who are righteous, but with sinners and backsliders. But the educator who lives with Christ in His church knows that we all have been given over to him, baptized and unbaptized, believers and unbelievers, converted and unconverted. Our children belong to Christ already, even before they are called through the Word to personal decision.

What then does Christian education in the family (and elsewhere) mean? It can only mean this: that we take seriously that all of us have been baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. We are to take seriously that all of us, parents and children, belong to the ascended Christ and are in His service. This means not just when that which is “Christian”, “religious”, or “being pious” applies, but also in those completely earthly and worldly relationships which concern our educational mandate. For also in this secular realm

² From Greek, spirit, i. e. the Holy Spirit. (Translator.)

we are under God and His salutary and benevolent commandments. That is the reason why the Christian educator will often make entirely different decisions in completely objective and non-religious matters from one who does not know Christ. Thus "Christian education" above all embraces, in the widest sense, the totality of educational responsibility without preference or distinction. But we can speak of Christian education in a narrower sense when we try to answer the question: What can and should take place in a Christian family so that in this area of life children are confronted with Christ, to whom they have been committed in their baptism? We have pointed out above that that cannot take place in the form of abstract proclamation, separated from the whole educational relationship in the family. Therefore we must ask how this confrontation with the reality of Christ properly and meaningfully happens, especially in the total structure of family education. The following reflections will be devoted to answering this question.

Possibilities of Realization

The family realizes the Christian education of its children through the fact that it is a Christian *Hausgemeinde* [a congregation in the home], but the family cannot lead its life as a *Hausgemeinde* by being isolated from the Christian church, the local congregation. Even more it receives its life and power from the church as it overlaps into the home, and it can only grow and remain alive as a member and part of it. Nevertheless, within the natural circle of the family, it has the task of developing and caring for its own spiritual life. The family is, then, a Christian church in miniature which has all the marks that the New Testament applies to the church. When the members of the family gather around the Word, then the resurrected and ascended Christ is present in their midst (Matt. 18:20), in order to teach His own and to have fellowship with them. He is the Head of the family and it is His pneumatic body which consists of many quite dissimilar members (I. Cor. 12). In this way the natural and spiritual fellowships within the family act reciprocally upon each other. The natural fellowship of the family is the external foundation upon which the *Hausgemeinde* can be built. This presupposes that all the members live together and have a common daily life with one another. The spiritual fellowship on the other hand reacts upon this natural living together and gives it intimacy, spiritual depth, integrity and steadfastness against all destructive forces from without. Thus the pneumatic reality of the *Hausgemeinde* has its roots also in the secular and educational realm. According to the Word of the Lord, "all these things shall be added" (Matt. 6:33).

Everything which the family undertakes in Christian education takes place within the circle of this *Hausgemeinde*. Thereby we wish to distinguish between two fairly large areas: functional and intentional education.

It is of the very essence of functional education that it does not use consciously considered measures, but rather that it takes place in the course of the given relationship of life, unconsciously, without deliberation or reflection. That which is decisive in family education does not happen through preventive means and statutes, but through the spiritual atmosphere of the home, into which the children grow without realizing it and without anything being said about it. This atmosphere of the home is decisively conditioned by the personal character of the parents and by the kind of relationship they have to each other. A child receives his first and most impressive instruction concerning the faith and life of a Christian congregation by being a witness to the way father and mother get along with each other, treat, understand, bear with, and love each other, how they take the burdens of life, how they together place themselves under the Word of God, pray and sing, praise and give thanks. There are many people who can testify that as children they observed how their parents prayed and that this became decisive for their whole life. On the other hand it is well known that all spiritual tensions and conflicts, all ties to sin and strained relations between parents that are not put into order even when they are kept from the children with apparent success, result in deep spiritual damage which reaches into the subconscious and often breaks out in neurotic symptoms. The children absorb, without choice and defence, unreflectingly and unconsciously, everything that they encounter as the reality of life in the home, holy and unholy, Christian and demonic, good and evil. Consequently the parents carry a very serious responsibility even before they can begin with a conscious Christian education of their children. Christian education or upbringing begins thus with parents bringing themselves up, that means placing themselves under the discipline and leading of the Holy Spirit in all areas of life. This action which takes place in the area of the subconscious is stronger and more important than any consciously arranged measures.

For this functional side of parental education, everything is essential which serves to bring to conscious realization this inner attitude, and which is the visible expression of spiritual life. It is of great importance for the children that there be a clear, meaningful ordering of life in the home, kept without fuss and as a matter of course. The child needs a fixed arrangement of the day in which to find security for his bodily and spiritual life. The spiritual life of the family can only take form where definite customs and practices, traditions and habits are dependably kept. In addition there should be definite table customs and order at meals. The problem is quite essential: What books does the child discover in the home when he gets to the stage

of really wanting to read? What kind of music is heard and played at home? What songs are sung? What magazines and newspapers lie around and are read, discussed and commented upon? What pictures hang on the walls and what is the content of what they have to say? All of these silent and unobtrusive things are secret co-educators, that either help us or work against us without our noticing it. Therefore all of this must be considered and arranged accordingly.

The most important service which parents can render for the Christian education of their children consists in genuinely leading a life with Christ and in His church and letting this life take concrete form in the fellowship of their home. Then even the smallest child will begin to grow without thinking about it into this world which has been formed and characterized by faith. In early childhood the urge to imitate is unusually strong, and inner and undisturbed psychical contact with the family leads to an intensive experience, to a strong transfer of feeling and an unconscious imitation of all that is presented to the child in the family as ordinary life. In this way habits and attitudes are formed in the child which are of very great importance for its own later life. The effect of these things that are unconsciously transferred is so much the greater the closer they lie to the beginning of development. It is just those influences of early childhood—from the age of one to five years—that are the most important. It would be a big mistake to think that this age was unimportant because children are not yet capable of grasping what is said about religion, for the time when religious problems develop, and therefore the time for instructions only begins much later. In reality, everything which the child picks up in these years may become, by way of the subconscious, decisively important for his later development. This plays an essential part in the crises and struggles of faith during adolescence, and determines to a large extent the decisions and convictions even of the adult to a much stronger degree than he himself would imagine.

Education must therefore so begin that the child, automatically and without question, shares the life of faith of the *Hausgemeinde* and makes it his own. Conscious education through teaching and discipline must be added at the proper moment, but its effect will be much more questionable if it cannot be built up on the basis of a broad functional, fundamental education that embraces all of life's relationships. Intentional education later on must be the direct continuation and supplementation of that functional education which precedes it. With the small child religious education is almost exclusively functional. But even later, when other factors join in, religious education still must continue to be predominantly functional. That is also the reason why the family cannot surrender this elementary task to other educational agencies and let its place be taken by them. Today's strongly secularized family, deprived of its very soul, has become accustomed to

leaving the task of education to other institutions which appear to have been specially made or equipped for the purpose (above all kindergartens, Christian boarding homes for schoolchildren, the school, and the church). It must be pointed out clearly that all these institutions cannot make up for what the family has failed to do, because they are consciously created organizations which can never achieve the educational results of an organic fellowship, encompassing the whole of life, such as the family.

The office of priesthood in the home, which is held by the father and mother in the *Hausgemeinde*, is one of the most important forms of the universal priesthood of all believers. The call to this universal priesthood of all believers takes place in Baptism. There needs to be no further call as in the case of the public ministry of the Church. Because the parents have been committed to the ascended Christ through Baptism, and because children have come and other members have joined the household, the office of the household priesthood and the responsibility for governing the *Hausgemeinde* has been laid on them. According to what principles should they then order the life of this *Hausgemeinde*?

The forms of life of the *Hausgemeinde* cannot be different from those of the Christian Church as a whole, for the *Hausgemeinde* is nothing other than a member and part, an image in miniature, of the whole Christian church. The forms which its life takes must mirror and recapture the forms of life of any and every Christian congregation. These are the elemental forms of life which belong to the nature of every Christian congregation, namely: the Word of God, prayer, hymns, the liturgy, Christian service, the Church Year. The only exceptions are the Sacraments, which (apart from exceptions like sick and home Communions) are not celebrated in the *Hausgemeinde*.

The Word of God: It belongs to the nature of the Christian church that she gathers in order to hear the Word. Therefore, in the *Hausgemeinde* the Bible should be regularly opened and the whole family gathered around the Word. When a section of Holy Scripture is read aloud, care should be taken to choose the subject-matter and length of the passage accordingly to the age of the children and make-up of the family group. The office of reader should be filled in the first instance by the father and mother in order that the children plainly see that their parents deem the Word holy and take it seriously. However, in addition, other members of the family, including older children, can take part in reading. The Word as read is also in need of explanation and discussion. Better than the usual printed meditation is an extemporaneous explanation of the text that grows out of a living personal experience and long association with the Holy Scriptures, at the conclusion of which a discussion can take place in the circle of those gathered around the Bible, giving to each the opportunity to add or ask whatever happens to be on his mind. This natural dialogue under the Word, from which light is thrown upon

everything concerning our eternal or earthly life, is the real spiritual center of a Christian home.

Common Prayer: Hearing and thinking through the Word of the Scriptures together leads quite naturally to the common prayer of the *Hausgemeinde*. In order to do this the family must appropriate a good treasury of short, well-constructed prayers which have been learned by heart and can be said together without having to take time to look for them in books. Here the richest mine is the hymnal. But in addition, especially in the *Hausgemeinde*, free prayer should have a permanent place in which the father or another member of the family expresses in short, disciplined, and appropriate sentences the thanksgivings and petitions which all wish to bring before God. For all those who are not accustomed to practise free prayer there also must be available, of course, good prayer books intended for the Christian home. However, these printed prayers must be short, meaningful, contemporary in content and use of language. They must not be meditations or sermons dressed up in the form of prayer. Prayer in the family should have great breadth of concern and embrace all of Christendom. Large place should be given to intercession. In order to do this it is good to make a definite plan, with every day of the week having its own group of intercessions. Prayer in the circle of the family, where it is alive, bears fruit in the personal prayer life of the individual member, if free prayer is fostered in a manner worth imitating. In the same way reading and thinking through the Holy Scriptures in common does not exclude personal reading of the Bible but, rather, will stimulate it and make it fruitful.

Hymn-singing: The hymns of our church are not only for the Service and the classroom. Above all they should be used a great deal also in the *Hausgemeinde*. Singing should take place daily, and there should be much of it. It should not just be limited to a few festivals during the year or to certain times; we should take care that the *Hausgemeinde*, as time goes on, learns the greatest possible number of hymns by heart. Only when hymns have been committed to memory do they become a real and lasting possession for one's whole life, and it is only the hymn that is known by heart that is in a position successfully to supplant the quantity of bad and inferior songs which children today pick up everywhere. In order for this to happen it is necessary that a fixed and ever-increasing group of hymns be used again and again. On the other hand, care should be taken that there be also change and variety in order to prevent boredom and monotony. What is needed again and again, therefore, is the discovery in common of new and unknown texts and melodies. In addition to hymns, good spiritual music can also be used, performed by members of the family. But more important than listening is always one's own actual singing and playing.

The Liturgy: It is of great value for the *Hausgemeinde* when the individual worthwhile parts of the liturgy of the Service are used in family

devotions. Often only individually and taken by themselves do these liturgical songs reveal their true content and their particular glory. Basically, everything can be used that appears in the Service, particularly: psalms, antiphons, versicles, the Gloria, the Sanctus, the Agnus Dei, and the Benediction. In a larger family circle, antiphonal singing could well be tried. In a smaller and musically less gifted family, antiphonal or responsive reciting could take the place of singing, but in the *Hausgemeinde* singing should always be given preference. From such regular use of liturgical elements—also by heart if possible—there can develop, as time goes on, something like a family liturgy. Just as with the singing of hymns, there arises a deep inner familiarity with the text and melodies, which become an indispensable nourishment for the inner man and a precious treasure for one's whole life. Caring for the liturgical life in the *Hausgemeinde* will undoubtedly bear much fruit in the vital participation of the children in the worship of the congregation.

Christian Service: Among the duties of the *Hausgemeinde* belongs also making the children accustomed early to the fact that service is one of the inalienable marks of a Christian congregation. The children should learn to take over tasks of service, not only with a general, human willingness to help but as a willing service to the Lord Jesus, for those in distress, the sick, and the poor. Opportunities for such service can be found within the fellowship of the family in times of sickness and in common brotherly relations, but also outside the family, serving the other tenants, neighbors, and friends who are poor and sick, including the stranger who knocks at the door.

The Church Year—a sequence of festivals: It is necessary that the *Hausgemeinde* regularly celebrate festivals with the children. To a great extent the genuine festivals (not those which are artificially promoted by the business world) have died out, and those festivals which the family still truly celebrates are secularized to such a degree that it is better for the children not to be included at all. It must be recognized, generally, that even in the home the spirits and hearts of our children have been undernourished whereas their minds and wills, because of economic considerations, have been one-sidedly cultivated. Here we have a common ailment which has just as serious educational consequences as bad marks at school, though perhaps not so visible. The family has here a great obligation. It must give the children time for silence, contemplation, reflection and composure, which can be for them a source of new profound joy. And the *Hausgemeinde* has the possibility to do this, for when it celebrates a festival it knows why it does so. Festivals can only be celebrated when there is already a profound reason for them. This content is given to the *Hausgemeinde* through the abundance of festivals of the Church Year. Living forms may be sought which make it possible for the family to make these festivals fruitful for its inner life.

The ever-recurring rhythm of the year, the week, the day, with its polarity of constancy and change, plays an essential role in the inner life of the

family. The spiritual life of the *Hausgemeinde* quite naturally attaches itself to and makes use of this rhythm already given by time. In the following it is hoped to develop this idea, if only in outline form.

High-lighting the Day: The very prosaic and worldly work of the day receives a spiritual center through prayers at various times of the day, of which in a family the following three could be kept, as a rule: morning prayer, noonday prayer, at least in the form of prayers at table, and family devotions in the evening. In these services in the home the natural fellowship of the family appears as the church at worship. An important rule for such prayers is that they be so short and alive that all the children take part eagerly. Everything that is longwinded, ornate, ceremonious, or old-fashioned should be avoided. Devotions which are an agony to children, or of which they are afraid, are not only of no use but are injurious. The elements which make up family devotions have been described above. The greatest liberty can be taken with details and the way family devotions are handled should remain elastic and be made to fit the age-levels of the children. It is most important to use those times of the day when the whole family is gathered or when it is not difficult to bring them together. What with today's conditions at work and school, this is not always easy to arrange.

High-lighting the Week: Here one must take pains to see that the *Hausgemeinde* spend Sunday in the right way, as the day of going to church together, of rest from work and of common joy and celebration. The very mid-point of Sunday is the gathering of the congregation around Word and Sacrament. The children should learn from their parents to observe Sunday as the day of the Resurrection of the Lord, as an Easter Day in miniature, in which He, the Living One, is among us in order to speak to us and grant us fellowship with him. But, also, the family should take advantage of rest from work on Sundays by playing and relaxing together to bring joy to everyone. In our secularized world Sundays are found to be especially empty, so that they have to be filled with diversions and digressions. It is the special task of the parents to see to it that on Sundays the whole family does not fall apart, each member going his own way, but that the children welcome this time for recreation and doing things together. Among the days of the week, Friday especially should be characterized by the remembrance of the passion and death of our Lord.

High-lighting the Year: In the *Hausgemeinde* the Church Year, with its customs and practices, should have a special place. The usual limitation of this to Advent and Christmas should be broken, and place made for an equal emphasis in the celebration of the greater and lesser festivals of the year. The decoration of the house with flowers, wreaths, pictures and symbols according to the importance of the festival should not be forgotten. Much of this the children will be glad to do themselves if they can be led into the right ideas. The yearly recurrence of birthdays and baptismal days should

not merely be worldly celebrations but kept as genuine spiritual days of remembrance.

High-lighting of Life: Special events like the baptism or confirmation of a child, the marriage or death of a member of the family, are events that cut deeply into the natural fellowship of the family, and should be consciously observed by the *Hausgemeinde* by reading from Scripture, prayer and singing of hymns. Definite arrangements which the *Hausgemeinde* makes for itself are exceedingly helpful for keeping these days (and their anniversaries), too, just as they are for keeping Sunday.

Furnishing the Home: Little things, also, that serve and help in the furnishing of the home are of great educational value so that the child can see what the *Hausgemeinde* wants to be: pictures, a house blessing on the wall, cross and crucifix, the family Bible, and candles. The use of candles where children are is an indispensable means of showing that on this day or at this moment something special is happening. They should be used, therefore, in every possible way to express significance.

With all these means which we can use to try to make our family a living *Hausgemeinde*, we cannot force what we are really seeking. For the Spirit blows where He wills, and awakening a person to a living faith is not in our power. But we have God's promise that His Word will not return unto Him void and that the seed which we cast in His Name really will grow. Truly, the danger today is not that we have too much confidence in our own activity but, rather, that we leave undone that which we could very well do, and that the Christian home is pushing its educational responsibility off on other institutions where the Christian message encounters the children only in abstract terms and without concrete incorporation in a living fellowship. Therefore the churches have the task of giving to the parents of their congregations concrete and practical guidance how they can rightly fulfil the task of the Christian education of their children.

Lutheran Church Music Today

Even the arch-Lutheran Wilhelm Löhe had to admit in the second of his *Three Books on the Church* (1845) that the name Lutheran in addition to the name church is basically an evil *contradictio in adjecto* "an inept substitute for all the beautiful titles of the church that had been hung on our church by her enemies because they pretentiously ascribed to themselves the better names Christian, Catholic Apostolic." However, there is really nothing to be said against the appellation "singing church" which the Lutheran church has received in the course of history throughout the world. For it says with beautiful clarity something about the true Christian character of the Lutheran church. For a singing church is a vital church, one turned toward Christ, standing on the foundation of the Gospel, living joyfully out of the joyous message of justification of the sinner *sola gratia* and *sola fide*. "For where you see and hear" says Luther in his "On the Councils and Churches" of 1539, "that the Lord's Prayer is prayed and the use of it is taught; where Psalms, or spiritual songs are sung, according with the Word of God and right faith . . . there be sure that there is a holy Christian people".¹ "For God has made our heart and spirit joyful through his dear Son, whom he offered for us to redeem us from sin, death and devil. He who earnestly believes this cannot keep quiet about it; he must sing about it joyfully and exult over it and speak about it so that others hear and come to it." (Luther in his preface to Valentin Babst's hymnal of 1545.)²

The Lutheran church for more than two centuries could not keep from singing cheerfully in her services and making joyous music and thus affirming her confession in innumerable hymns and choral arrangements, in artistic religious concertos and cantatas, and in famous full-scale passions and oratorios which, though, burst the framework of the liturgy. But after the death of J. S. Bach, as we all know, a sudden silence descended on the church. A fateful silence, when one must see that the Lutheran church in this period considered her church music as but inherited culture, thought of it as a matter of aesthetics, and handed it over as superfluous and of no account to the world which admired this music, while at the same time it rejected the church. A painful silence, when one must observe the *ersatz* commodity the church bought as a substitute to satisfy her "religious needs", to "beautify" her

1 *Works of Martin Luther*, Phila. ed., V, p. 285. (WA L).

2 *ibid.*, VI, p. 294. (WA XXXV, 476).

liturgically free (that is, liturgically impoverished) services. A dead silence, really, when one sees clearly that in this way church music was cut off from its liturgical roots, *i. e.* is torn from the source of its lifeblood, and so thoroughly that even today it is difficult to create an understanding in church circles for the fact that liturgy and church music in their content and purpose belong together, and that one cannot be had without the other.

Much could be said about this decline, which certainly had many causes and is connected with the development of music, the change in musical style after Bach's death and the rift between the church and the world at the time. But it is also to be traced no less to the removal of all the vital elements in the church from a universal context, to the secularization of the church in the 18th century.

Georg Kempff at any rate hit the nail on the head in his book (still absorbing even today) *Der Kirchengesang im lutherischen Gottesdienst und seine Erneuerung* [Church singing in Lutheran worship and its renewal]³ when he said that the church at that time no longer knew what she really was.

But we can learn from this story because we today, two hundred years later, find ourselves in a completely new situation and are experiencing a development already well advanced which demands our closest attention. It need hardly be said that we are thinking primarily of the epoch-making development of Lutheran church music in Germany.⁴ This was heralded as early as the second decade of our century in compositions by Arnold Mendelssohn and Heinrich Kaminski, it took a mighty swing upward in the thirties during the affliction of the church in its conflict with the National-Socialist state in the works of Ernst Pepping, Hugo Distler, Johann Nepomuk David, Hans Friedrich Micheelsen, Helmut Degen and other composers born about 1900–1910, and it is being continued today in the works of Siegfried Reda, Helmut Bornefeld, Johannes Driessler and many even younger men. They have won acknowledgment and admiration from many different circles and have gained recognition even outside Germany. At any rate, we in Holland would like to give thankful expression to the fact that the renaissance of church music in Germany has become decisive for our own attempts at renewal and that at this point the new German church music has begun to play a large rôle here since the end of the war, not only in the small Lutheran church of the Netherlands—where longing for the singing church has become a mark of her reflection upon the Lutheran confession—but also in the large "Nederlands Hervormde Kerk" (Netherlands Reformed Church) whose musical circles are painfully beginning to feel the lack of a tradition and creativity of their own.

³ Leipzig: Verlag M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1937.

⁴ The many Lutherans in the United churches also will certainly understand and applaud the fact that being concerned about the confessional connection of music we gladly speak of "Lutheran church music" although the concept is very vulnerable, particularly from a Lutheran standpoint. In this connection an article — as spiritual as it is spirited — in the Bavarian periodical *"Gottesdienst und Kirchenmusik"* [Worship and Church Music] entitled "Lutherisch" should be pointed out in which Joh. G. Mehl defends the name "Lutheran church music" and against his collaborator even dares the exaggerated but delightful statement that the angels in Luke 2 sang "lutherisch".

Last but not least, the Christian Radio Association of the Netherlands—which is not church-connected, is constructed on an non-denominational basis, but is practically reformed in character—found in the new Lutheran church music a welcome means of giving “character” to its programs. But we know that the new development of church music in Germany has also touched other countries and churches. Many works of Pepping, Distler, David and other leaders mentioned are known—at least no longer unknown—also in the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Switzerland, Britain, and other European countries and are esteemed by appreciative listeners and valued highly by noted critics. Some were recently sung by the St. Thomas Choir of Leipzig in South America (Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina) and made a deep impression there. And if perhaps the new Lutheran church music should not yet have been discovered in the United States, the records of the “Deutsche Grammophon-Gesellschaft” which is bringing out shortly a recording of Pepping’s “St. Matthew Passion” undoubtedly will awaken a response there, too.

No, in speaking today of Lutheran church music we do not have to speak about something that is past. In Germany it has already experienced a real resurrection. In other countries, for example in Sweden and Finland and according to latest reports also in Hungary, something new is happening. And in the area of all Lutheran co-operation in church music for which the First International Conference on Lutheran Church Music (Amsterdam, September 1955) has broken ground, and from the stimulation which the conference mediated to the eager participants from ten countries there is hope for a revitalization or renewal in church music elsewhere too. Lutheran church music is back again. It is again in the present tense: it “presents” itself again first to the Lutheran church so that she can rise to become the “singing church” again, but then to all of Christendom called to the praise of God.

What is the general attitude in our churches to this unexpected but extremely important series of events? What reactions are to be expected or have been recorded, so far as we are still back in rationalism or pietism, or at least have not yet broken through to a new understanding of the church? What should be the attitude of the church, for whom the call, “Back (or Forward) to Luther!” is a theological command of the hour, and who does not misconstrue her evangelical tasks and her missionary calling in today’s secularized world?

Because of the relativizing of the church and worship, which music suffered during rationalism (it continues to have its after-effect in intellectualism), it is easy to understand that the new church music and its recent turning to the church often comes under suspicion of acting for the sake of a mere movement in music, for which the church could have but faint interest.

There seems very little to say to this objection. For it cannot and ought not be denied that the new church music actually is a return to that which is musical. Whoever has not confirmed this for himself by listening to various works need only read what is written on contemporary church music in

literature in the field to be convinced. In Karl H. Wörner's book *Musik der Gegenwart* [Music of the present]⁵ the composer Ernst Pepping is called a "craftsman of power", "a stimulating teacher and theoretician", and in the works of J. N. David the author is especially struck by his "gifted originality in constructing and forming counterpoint . . . the technical sovereignty of which places David beside the most exalted paragons of the past." Fred Hamel, who devoted an essay in the periodical *Melos*,⁶ to Hugo Distler (then 25 years old but already a convincing representative of new church music), praises the musical construction of both his first works "because they show their creator suddenly in full possession of an uncommonly rich substance and eminently craftsmanlike equipment . . ." And Hans Hoffmann, in his book *Vom Wesen der zeitgenössischen Kirchenmusik* [On the nature of contemporary church music]⁷ points out introductorily that the renewal of church music is also determined by the post-war generation's "reaching back to the original powers of music", its return "to the pure musical polyphony of older masters". He describes a motet of Siegfried Reda's as being like "a lesson from the realms of music", and he praises "the musician full of ideas" in Joh. Driessler. At that time he knew only the smaller works of Helmut Bornefeld's which he considered as "evidence of lively musicality". But had he known the larger works of this composer from Heidenheim, he certainly could not have failed to observe the outspoken musicianship, for example, of the great fugue from his organ partita "Wir glauben all an einen Gott".

Therefore, they are correct who speak of musical precursors to the renewal in church music. Certainly the new church music is a musical phenomenon. It bears almost everywhere the mark of original musical feeling. It must even be added that it chose to return to musical elements quite consciously and decidedly and that its originators in no way let themselves passively be taken in tow against their will by the young generation in secular music after 1918. On the contrary they went along actively and gladly. Even more they were often in the front line. But all of this does not say anything against the new church music. It indicates much more a positive witness, evidence that church music has at last been set upon its feet and has taken the first decisive steps forward. For the Lutheran church music that went down in musical history and that caused our church to be given the honorary title of "singing church" was also, at least in its basic outlines, clearly "musical", more musical than the "religious" music of the last century which has made no history just because it possessed no musical substance. That there is such a striking identity between the new and older church music is to be attributed to the "remusicalization" ["Remusikalisierung"] of church music. From the great paragons, from Johann Walter to J. S. Bach, present day church music has again

5 Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1949.

6 Vol. 12, No. 12.

7 Cassel and Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949.

learned that it can only exist and fulfil its task when it not only takes account of ecclesiastical but of musical demands too, submits to the laws of musical phenomenon and makes full use of their freedom.⁸

There is still another objection to the new church music which lies on the same plane, but which goes further and can frequently be heard particularly in preponderantly pietistic circles of our churches. Pietism placed religious sentiment so far above musical accomplishment in the church that a disturbance of the balance of power took place and a "godly" and "religious" music emerged whose only excuse for its shallowness was the explanation that it was meant only for the simple churchgoer. (Perhaps also "only" for the glory of God?) And many brought up on this pious music and burdened by such ideas see in the new church music even a danger because, going beyond mere musical edification, it raises the demand for artistic quality.

This last assertion also can and ought not to be contradicted. For fortunately it cannot be denied that the new Lutheran church music in many cases has risen again to true and often great art. To document this we shall content ourselves with two examples taken purposely from the non-German press. After he had visited the Festival of German Church Music in Berlin in 1937 the musical director at the cathedral of Lund, Josef Hedar, wrote in the *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten* (October 21) the following, which says a lot for the artistic significance of the new church music: "This festival has shown in an overpowering and convincing way that the Evangelical church in Germany today has the same spirit of might power as in the days of Schütz, Buxtehude and Bach." And concerning the much more recent "St. Matthew Passion" of Pepping which was presented in the Swiss capital in the summer of 1952 the *Neue Berner Presse* wrote (September 3) "in this composition for double choir, the close interlacing of the two choruses and the constant change in their relationship achieves a supernatural effect . . . Something unique, an experience".

But here also we must go a step further, for the Lutheran church music of our time is, in its musical artistic language moreover, emphatically contemporary. If one wants to say so, modern: "All artistic means that the latest developments in music have produced",—so wrote a great Berlin paper in 1937—"the free treatment of chords within tonality . . . (there follows a series of further features), . . . all these we find in the (new) church music as well."

Here perhaps it is sufficient to call to mind that Ernst Pepping as early as 1926 at the Donaueschingen Music Festival (which has become a name in modern music) was represented by "basic documents of new music" (Laux); that the Hugo Distler who unfortunately died so young belonged to those of the *avantgarde* of his time; that Hans Friedrich Micheelsen "has gone through the strict school of Paul Hindemith" (Hoffmann) and that

⁸ In how far church music is allowed to have this freedom is a question for theology. However, it must take place more seriously and with less superficiality than this is being done in the Roman Catholic church at present. (Cf. the latest Papal encyclical on Catholic church music.)

today Siegfried Reda and Helmut Bornefeld are filled with that "passion for being up to date", against which even a man like Hans Joachim Moser felt it necessary to warn people in his lecture (a controversial one incidentally) in Augsburg in 1954. If today in Germany there is a young generation of composers not interested in the church, who attempt to convince the world that music renewal began only after the capitulation, that is to say with *their* running after the latest fad, it should be expressly emphasized that it was the young generation of church composers during the "Dozen-year Reich" who stood in the breach on behalf of the new music, often with danger to their own lives but often with astonishing success and, at any rate, with the lasting merit of having kept the free development of music from freezing in a state-guided *Kulturpolitik*.⁹

But back to the latter-day pietists of our churches who during these extended remarks in the meantime have been corroborated. The Lutheran church music of our time again has actual artistic significance and it is even something outspokenly modern. But is this all not a great gain? Was not also the church music of Schütz and Bach, of Praetorius and Scheidt, of Pachelbel, and all the other masters of great sacred music, art in the fullest sense? Were no "strange harmonies" found in Bach and was not Heinrich Schütz in his time a highly modern composer? Can church music at any time be really music without having intrinsic artistic value, and would it ever speak to modern men if it were not itself contemporary? Just this is the great significance of the great regeneration of today's Lutheran church music: that, like a phoenix risen from its independent and decadent ashes, today just as at the time of the time of the Reformation, in the days of Orthodoxy, and down to Pietism, it stands equal in rank beside all other contemporary music. In contrast to the complete isolation of Catholic church music it takes part again in the general development of music. It has also achieved the annulment of the fatal divorce of music into two different kinds by which the world won and the church lost practically everything. It achieved the goal of being again taken seriously, of being respected, valued and discussed by those outside. If thus the church is coming again to the attention of her lost sons, we have to thank the rediscovered conviction that *church* music, if it understands its task correctly, should also be really *church music*. Or to express it in the words of the great connoisseur and exponent of the new choral music Oskar Söhngen whose work and thought has been so largely devoted to the questions of church music that his insights carry special weight: "For the church, true music in worship will only be music that is, at the same time, more than mere music used in worship—namely, a valid, creative expression of its time."¹⁰

⁹ Cf. the well-informed and richly documented book of Oskar Söhngen, *Kämpfende Kirchenmusik* [Struggling church music], Cassel and Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1954.

¹⁰ Oskar Söhngen, *Wiedergewonnene Mitte?* [Center regained?], Berlin and Darmstadt: Verlag Carl Merseburger, 1955.

If after what has been said in the meantime it still appears as if in the new church music we are confronted with primarily musical phenomena with which the church itself has little to do, we must now ask the question about the forces which have contributed to its rise in addition to the choral and organ movement, the Bach and Schütz renaissance, the reorientation of music, or the change in musical style. In so doing, we are asking questions about the church side of the new church music and thus about its relationship to the most recent developments in the church.

Two things are immediately apparent. The movement for renewal of church music began when the first symptoms appeared in the Lutheran church that pointed to a better understanding of the church, when Martin Luther was rediscovered. And it has been accepted at the time when the liturgical movement, on the basis of this re-encounter with the Reformer, began to find its footing in the church. This cannot just be coincidence. For if church and music—in the fullest sense—diverged when the church *de facto* ceased being the church and when she as a result allowed her life of worship to become stunted, one cannot be amazed that both found themselves back together when the church found herself and gave her services again a churchly character. It would be interesting to follow in detail how this happened and which factors played a part in beginning, advancing and acceleration the process of mutual rapprochement of church and music. The two chief elements, however, which stand out above all the rest have already been mentioned. With the broadened opportunity in the church resulting from the move from the subjectivism of personal piety to the objectivism of the church's confession, the church again was able to offer music a true home where it could build a new life after the disappointment of its experiences in the period of "art for art's sake" in the fruitful atmosphere of a uniting fellowship. With the *Word* which the church again placed above all human words, she presented to composers once again the great texts which it has always been their task to set to music, from which arose the best works, works with confessional character. And in her reordering of worship the church has fulfilled the longing of postromantic music for fixed forms, which in the variety of the propers finds a wealth of welcome footholds. Here was the "Rondo form" with its "purposeful mixture of rigidity and flexibility" (Moser). Music has not overlooked the open doors of the church—quickly and to an astonishing degree it entered. By the church's theology rediscovering the church the craftsmanship of music rediscovered music, that is, its original purpose as worship. By theologians recognizing again in Martin Luther the signpost to the Gospel and allowing themselves to be led even today by the powers radiating from his figure, the musicians confronted J. S. Bach again as the cantor of St. Thomas who taught them that "regulated church music" is still the highest "purpose" of all music. In this way there has been a convergence in the lines of development in both church and music, leading them at last together—and at the same time to a confrontation with the

two architects of the "singing church"; the reformer of the church, the singing Christian Martin Luther, and the first cantor of the Lutheran church, the Christian singer Johann Walter. Truly, if we view the new church music from this perspective, when we look at it closely, then we can see that the church is concerned with it in many ways. For if we pierce into the heart of the new church music we shall see that in essence its artistic form is no end in itself but rather a vestment woven with dedication in which it would like to serve the church.

Certainly, at first glance one could be wrong. But the new church music has long given genuine proof of its readiness to serve which should be able to convince the sceptic. It has freely bound itself to the liturgy. It has subordinated itself to the life of the church. It has tried to attach itself to the heartbeat of church life. Certainly it is true that composers like Pepping, Distler, David, Micheelsen and the younger ones too like Reda, Driessler and Bornefeld have also composed works that are not bound to the liturgy. They have created larger forms like cantatas and passions, oratorios and choral symphonies that serve the church outside her services as well. In this way they want to represent the church and allow the church to express herself. They have moreover written non-church works: symphonies, chamber music, piano concertos, etc. which have often found recognition and which undergird the bridge spanning the one-time rift in style between "church" and "secular" music. But the core of their creativity lies in their liturgical works, the choral arrangements for singing hymns antiphonally between choir and congregation [Alternatimpraxis], complete choral arrangements for the Church Year [Jahreskreise], introits and graduals [Psalmbücher *de tempore*] and motets on the epistles and gospels. In this way contemporary church music has demonstrated the truth of the thesis that liturgy is the womb, the source of life of church music, the only soil in which it can take root and flourish.

With this last observation—which indeed implies that intensification of the life of worship is a *conditio sine qua non* if the new (and the old!) church music is to succeed in finding itself a place—the movement for renewal in church music is confronted by a final objection. Important, active circles in the Lutheran church of our day immediately suspect that we do not know anything about what the first and most important task of the church is in this world of 1956, that we do not recognize what are essentials and non-essentials. Is the attempt to obtain liturgical renewal not a clear sign that we church musicians are not only strangers to the world but that we are strangers even to the church itself?

You already understand to what I am alluding. I am thinking of the tension that is implied in the concepts liturgy and folkmission and concerning which Karl Ferdinand Müller at the conference on church music in Hannover discussed in a talk¹¹ which he closed with the pertinent remark that evangelistic

¹¹ In *Musik und Kirche*, Vol. 25, 1955, No. 2 (March-April).

work cannot get along in the long run without fixed forms, because all Christian talk must sometime cease, find rest in prayer and song if it is not to undermine its own goal.

We want to take this objection very seriously, not only because the folk-mission movement deserves it, but also because the church musicians influenced by the new church music know themselves today to be more closely attached to it than the movement usually admits, just because they have been intensively concerned *ex officio* with liturgical, and therefore also with theological and ecclesiastical, questions and because they have acquired again from the old cantors of the Lutheran church an evangelical, Lutheran vocational ethic. We Lutheran church musicians of today do not live in an ivory tower. We know what's going on in the world. We are deeply disturbed by what threatens to overtake us all in the wake of progressing secularization. Just because in the new church music we have heard that which is essential, we can no longer be satisfied with its artistic side alone—important as it is. Every time we sing and listen to the new church music the question haunts us, how to bring it into action for the church and her message to the world, but also how to get the church to realize that the new church music has something to contribute also to evangelistic work—something new, important and not yet utilized.

We do not want to work out a program with a whole series of special questions, but merely bring to mind the beautiful old triad: church, music, world. True, this one-time consonant triad has become a dissonant tetrad. Church and world have fallen into dissonant tension and between them two different kinds of music have been set up. It is just this that separates us. Let's say it frankly: there is a music that is good which once the church thoughtlessly relegated to the world but which has now returned to the church, and there is a music that is bad which everyone gladly lets the church have which, despite this fact, she still prefers to use in her evangelistic work.

Now the new music—also the new church music—has recognized and showed that two tones which in themselves are dissonant, *i. e.*, pull in two directions, can be tied together, can be made consonant by means of an appropriate tone placed between them which serves to connect them as a mediant of both. It has already been pointed out that the half-tones or types of music poised between the church and the world by the development of music have united once more. The new church music has bridged the rift. Church music, if it has artistic quality apart from its character in worship, has as well a strongly missionary effect because it takes hold of one, as Luther says, having superiority over words by being able to penetrate into the deepest inner recesses of a person where the decisive events take place. Whoever has experienced along with us church musicians that this is so will understand that we believe we have in the new, as in the old church music (that is so close to life) just such a mediant which is to bind the church and the world together and which as a

medium of the church can and should be used to full effect: in the service, in the celebration of the Sacrament, as festive eucharistic music, as well as everywhere where the church turns to those distant from her.

Here, in closing, we would like to come to the problem of the theological interpretation of music with which the church has just begun to come to terms. It should not be kept secret that there are interpretations which deny any ability of proclamation to music. Although Otto Brodde an unquestioned specialist in this field had passionately maintained this view till now, in his latest writings¹² he counts "doxological proclamation" as of the very nature of church music. Though I, not being a theologian, am not keen on stepping out on to such an icy problem, I have no hesitation in entering, let us say, the controversy between René H. Wallau¹³ and Oskar Söhngen¹⁴ on the side of the latter. Not only because, in thoroughly coming to terms with Wallau's presentation he points to the great significance of the new church music and the relevance of its expression for the theological view of music generally; but also because he, in contrast to Wallau's connection of music with only the 1st and 2nd articles of the creed, recalls the work of the Holy Spirit in music, pointing out that one should not fail to recognize the inspiration growing out of the hymns of the New Testament, and suggesting that the relationship of word and tone seriously be taken into account within the church; but primarily because he asks that greater recognition be given to Luther's theological statements on church music, which he himself has done and which he has gathered together in his studies *Die Wiedergeburt der Kirchenmusik* [Rebirth of church music],¹⁵ a book which in my opinion has had far from sufficient recognition. The question whether the new regenerated church music will be granted the rôle in worship and in today's world for which it exists and for which it offers itself—that is, whether the Lutheran church will actually recognize and use it as a medium—cannot, in the end, expect a real answer until the Lutheran church to whom has been presented such great and special gifts of God in the realm of church music (of which she must also be a good steward!) confesses again Luther's evangelical view of music. That would be a view of music which does not come from Martin Luther the music lover, the artist or the man of aesthetic tastes, but which interprets him, as Christoph Wetzel recently remarked, "from the center of his theology".¹⁶ Seen theologically and practically, such a view of music would today become pertinent again by finding its expression in Luther's claims that God uses music to proclaim the Gospel¹⁷ and that the Holy Spirit praises and honors this "noble art" as "an instrument of His very office".¹⁸

12 Otto Brodde and Christa Müller, *Das Graduallied*, Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1954.

13 René H. Wallau, *Die Musik in ihrer Gottesbeziehung*, Gütersloh: 1948.

14 Oskar Söhngen, "Zur Theologie der Musik" in *Theologische Literatur Zeitung*, 1950, No. 1.

15 Cassel and Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1953.

16 "Studien zur Musikanschauung Martin Luthers" [Studies in Luther's view of music] in *Musik und Kirche*, Vol. 25, 1955, No. 6.

17 "Deus praedicavit evangelium etiam per musicam" (WA Tischreden Nr. 1258).

18 From Luther's preface to "Symphoniae iucundae" by Georg Rhaas 1538.

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

GENEVA DIARY

THE CHURCH IN MADAGASCAR

The Lutheran Church in Madagascar has been confirmed in its membership in the Lutheran World Federation since the Vienna meeting early in 1955. It had officially participated in the Lutheran World Convention activities and in the organization of the Federation. For reasons which are too complicated to explain here the Federation confirmed its earlier action.

My visit to this country was the first official contact on the part of the Federation with this church in Madagascar. It is a living and growing church of approximately 200,000 people extending from the capital of Tananarive to the south, including both east and west coasts. Within this area a well organized church of five separate synods has emerged into one strong Protestant unit. In all of this region three societies have been working on a co-operative basis to bring about the creation of this Church, the Norwegian Mission Society, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Free Church, both in North America. The establishment of a theological training institute in the early years of mission activities gives an indication of the wise foresight of the Norwegian churchmen. This institution has resulted in the establishment of a clergy which today ministers to the congregations and carries on its evangelistic work in the non-Christian regions.

It was a surprise to find that in sections where the church has been established for a number of decades almost 50 % of the population is adhering to the Christian church. This has produced a considerable degree of literacy and a high standard of educational training. As is usually true, there are vast differences between the tribes and between the various geographical regions. Fortunately the church has been able to rise above this difference and to contain all of these elements within its membership. One factor leading to the unity of such a group is, of course, that the people speak a common language.

The church in Madagascar, in common with the churches of Africa and Asia, faces many acute problems. The emerging church, with a growing sense of responsibility on the part of the nationals, is not entirely free from tensions as it develops its own form of church life. As in all countries, the level of the training of the clergy needs to be greatly improved.

Here again I found that members of the congregations and the pastors sense the value of fellowship with other Christians through such ecumenical organizations as the Lutheran World Federation. I was glad to note what keen interest they show in the problems and task of their Christian brethren in Asia, America and Europe.

THE EXECUTIVE IN INDIA

The 250th anniversary of the arrival of the first Lutheran missionaries in India gives the Lutheran World Federation the opportunity to hold its first Executive Committee meeting in Asia. In meeting in Asia, the Federation follows the healthy trend of ecumenical groups in giving much more attention to Christian friends in this part of the world. It is only logical that an organization that is represented in every section of the world should have the opportunity to see at first hand what its constituency is doing. In a sense, therefore, this meeting in

Madras will be an evidence that Federation wishes to use every possibility for acquainting itself with churches in all areas. In each of the meetings of the Executive since 1952 the Federation has followed the practice of inviting representatives of neighboring churches to attend as observers. In 1953 we had contact with the strong folk churches of Scandinavia at the Trondheim sessions. Our second experience was in Vienna where we were permitted to have fellowship with our Christian brethren of Southern and Eastern Europe. Now we will meet representatives from the churches of Asia.

It is natural that at such an occasion the Federation should open up the possibility for a vital exchange of views on issues that confront these friends. We will need to hear from our Lutheran churches what they, in particular situations, regard to be important and of value in a movement such as the Federation. In one specific instance, naturally, the Federation will be glad to discuss with the Lutherans of South India their situation with respect to unity discussions with the Church of South India. These discussions have proceeded now for some years and are at a stage where there has been much useful understanding of issues on both sides. The various churches of all of Asia will be given the opportunity to compare experiences.

Several lively issues related to the work of the Federation, as usual, will need the attention of the Executive. The growth in interest on the part of several agencies, both religious and governmental, in helping peoples living in areas of rapid social change will also effect the future programs of our Departments. Since several appeals have come from churches in Asia for such aid the Federation will have to declare itself in this respect.

ASSEMBLY PREPARATIONS

The major item before the Executive will be to consider the plans for the 1957 Assembly to be held in Minneapolis. This Assembly is designed primarily to be effective in a healthy discussion of realistic issues facing our churches. Much more attention, therefore, will be given to the plenary sessions in order that delegates can be given adequate time for discussion and debate. It is hoped that the plenary sessions will be devoted to the presentation, through lectures, of the main theme and its sub-topics and in opening discussion. Another element in the plenary sessions will be the necessity of reporting to the Assembly on the fiveyear record and establishing the lines for future activities. In the discussion groups, which will be limited to 20-30 people, we shall deal with the sub-topics of the theme simultaneously. There will be no sectional groups as we had in Hannover. It is our intention to provide for these concerns and interests in the pre-Assembly conferences on such subjects as World Missions, Inner Missions, youth work, etc. The Assembly, therefore, can give its full attention to the theme: "Christ Frees and Unites".

Shortly after the meeting in Madras there will be presented to the member churches a preliminary study document which has been prepared by the Commission on Theology. This will be in the form of a brief document with theses and questions. Our people will be invited to make comments, to discuss these issues and to make their findings known to the Commission on Theology. On the basis of these results the Commission then will be in a position to issue a document to be used in Minneapolis.

Worship will hold a central place in the Assembly. The Committee on Arrangements in the United States is making extensive plans for worship in the morning and evening and at noon. In addition it is making some slight revisions in the Assembly hymnbook, LAUDAMUS, which was used in Hannover. As a further preparation for the Assembly, seven editors have been invited to write an account of the status of Lutheranism by continents and general areas. These pamphlets will attempt to portray the situation of our churches in all parts of the world. Also in preparation are books on the main theme to be used in congregations.

It is our hope that pastors and congregations are now preparing for this Assembly by prayer. We need to have the whole-hearted understanding of all of our churches to deal with the great issue of Christian freedom and Christian unity.

Carl. E. Lund-Quist

World Missions

The Ecumenical Significance of Marangu

Does not this title place the first All-Africa Lutheran Conference in a slightly peculiar and illegitimate perspective? Among Lutherans many will say that the conference was primarily meant to serve the Lutheran church bodies and missions, to consider their questions and give an answer from the Lutheran tradition. Non-Lutherans will raise again, in this or that form, the old question: Can anything that only *one* denomination undertakes ever have ecumenical significance, since the fact is that as a denomination it must put ecumenical unity in question? In other words, can the Lutheran World Federation, if it is to remain true to itself, ever be ecumenical? We as Lutherans have no reason to dispose of this question too easily by emphasizing the responsibility for our own congregations which we must always promptly fulfil. We cannot take action within our own house without being aware of our responsibility for the whole of Christendom on earth, for we do not believe in the Lutheran church but in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and it is of just this Church that the Augsburg Confession in Article VII speaks. *Because we are Lutherans we must raise the question of the ecumenical significance of the Marangu Conference.*

I

Before we raise the question of the attitude of the conference itself and turn to fundamental problems, it will be profitable to consider a moment who could have sponsored such a conference if the Commission on World Missions of the Lutheran World Federation had not done so. That all of Christendom has a pressing duty to concern itself with the questions all Africa is putting to the West and to the Christian church has been made unmistakably clear by the reports of Peter Kwei Dagadu and Rena Karefa Smart and the discussions in Section V (Inter-Group Relations) at Evanston, 1954.

There is no national Christian council for Africa. (One is tempted to ask why there is

none. Does the reason lie only in the technical difficulties of coming together, or in the problem of a conference language, or does the fact that we still think of Africa as a group of colonies, of half or three-quarter dependent countries, hinder us from seeing the unity of the continent?) The World Council of Churches or the International Missionary Council would have had to create a totally new organization with considerable expenditure of time and money in order to call and prepare an inter-confessional all-Africa conference. An individual African church as the inviting agency could certainly not even have been considered. Such a church would have immediately been hopelessly suspected, both in and outside its own country, of pursuing African nationalist goals behind Christian ecclesiastical camouflage. Even the Marangu Conference — very unjustly — was not completely spared such mistrust on the part of individual administrative authorities. It must simply be stated that this first all-African conference never would have taken place if the Lutherans, pressed by Evanston and by their own experiences in Africa subcommittees of the Commission on World Missions, had not grasped the initiative. In this matter they, on behalf of all of Christendom, tackled a task of whose urgency we are all aware — or ought to be.

This is to record a matter of established fact. The question whether the Lutherans acted ecumenically in the way of calling and carrying out the conference is still open. The question remains, for example, whether despite the heavily mounting technical and financial demands (housing and feeding!) other evangelical churches, for example, like the Anglicans, Methodists and Moravians could not also have issued an invitation. The answer to this question cannot simply be avoided by pointing to the organizational difficulties or by raising the counterquestion about the authority of the Lutheran church bodies for such an invitation. Any church has as much authority as it has faith.

II

Keeping these fundamental questions in mind we turn now to the external impression of the conference. The number of European participants from Africa and the rest of the world was consciously kept at a minimum in order to give as much opportunity as

possible to our African brethren. Nevertheless, besides the Lutheran World Federation (Bishop Lilje, Dr. Lund-Quist, Dr. Schiotz) ecumenical organizations were represented (World Council: Dr. F. C. Fry; International Missionary Council: L. B. Greaves; YMCA: Dr. T. Strong; British and Foreign Bible Society: the Rev. F. J. Bedford). Besides these there were present as official visitors members of other evangelical churches (Church of England: Bishop Stanway; the Moravians: Bishop Ibsen). Some of the persons named co-operated as speakers. Among the speakers two should not go unmentioned: Canon M. A. C. Warren (Church Missionary Society) and the African Anglican, Evangelist William Nagenda, both of whom conducted Bible studies and spoke on fundamental aspects of the burning question of the revival movement. At least it must be said that the Lutherans did not hold a secret conference to the exclusion of the public. In fact, they were also prepared to listen to the voices of other churches.

What was said and decided at Marangu understood: These representatives of the ecumenical organizations and evangelical churches and the speakers were not those who were responsible or even coresponsible for the conference. The Commission on World Missions of the Lutheran World Federation is responsible. But they were symbols of the fact that the windows were open to the *oikumene*.

III

More important than these personal ties with the ecumenical world was the theme of the conference itself and its treatment. The Bible studies on Christ the crucified, risen and returning Lord consciously took up the promising starting point of the main theme at Evanston, in that Christ and not the church was placed at the center. And that a clear position was taken in the question of eschatology should be understood as rendering service to the ecumenical discussion. Neither were the six daily themes of the conference limited by a one-sided reflection upon the "Lutheran church": Our faith and our confession, the growing church, revival in the church, the serving church, the church and its environment, the Word of God in everyday African life. Here the church of Jesus Christ in

Africa was in focus. That is both Lutheran and ecumenical. Could a conference called by an "ecumenical" body with Africa in view have chosen other themes?

The treatment of the themes corresponded to the themes themselves. Neither the speakers nor those who took part in the discussions thought about attempting a glorification or justification or even simply a "self-analysis" of the Lutheran church. One spoke as a Lutheran, from an historical tie to a church of Lutheran confession, but one thought, questioned and spoke with the *one* church of Christ in Africa in view. One of the non-Lutheran guests was amazed at the lack of confessional self-consciousness especially among the African delegates. In this way he was underscoring just this fact that here the question was not the consolidation or self-assertion of the Lutheran church, but was that which must concern all Christians in Africa, Christ and His church.

What was said and decided at Marangu is certainly only a beginning, staking off an expanded territory for further work. After all, Marangu was really only the very first all-Africa conference. But it would be desirable for the African church that later conferences, even if they are sponsored by others, do not neglect the firstfruits of Marangu — they were meant for everyone — and that they think and act with the same ecumenical breadth as distinguished this first conference.

IV

It is now time to speak of why the first all-Africa conference, totally disregarding organizational problems, *had to be* sponsored by a church bound to a confession — for the sake of the ecumenical task.

A characteristic of the conference was the fact that in, beside and apart from the official conference program the African delegates brought their special African cares and desires to a hearing and discussion with the greatest conceivable clarity. To name only some: Education on a broader basis in a quicker and more consistent development including establishing universities; revival as the "yes" of African faith to the Gospel's "for you"; bishops for the Lutheran churches; polygamy; the threat from the post-Christian religion of Islam; the ruthless competition of the Catholic church; but

above all, racial discrimination as a problem of the church (not primarily as a political problem!). That all these questions could be discussed without establishing "parties" shows how solid the foundation of the church is that believes in the justification of all sinners. It was no mere coincidence that the celebration of the Lord's Supper at the close was the most impressive part of the meeting.

Whoever would give an answer to these questions in a form understandable for the African today and would guard against the danger lurking in many of these problems of falsifying the message of Christ cannot dispense with the clear, precise formulation of a confession of the church. Whoever would speak to these questions at all could not do this in the form of a mere expression of opinion that had no binding character, nor in the form of a merely general repetition of biblical statements. He is being asked for his confession of Christ here and now. But an "ecumenical" conference that would have to create to begin with consensus just at this point, would be faced by the unproductive alternative of remaining silent, or of keeping to unclear generalities that bind no one. The genuine African and, at the same time, genuine ecumenical contribution of the Marangu Conference consists in this fact that became unmistakably clear: that the church of Christ in Africa is not being asked for her opinion or suggestions, but rather for her confession. (To apply this to the total situation in the World Council of Churches it means: Marangu has shown that the work of Faith and Order in the World Council of Churches is more than ever the true task of the ecumenical movement.)

This recognition which was emphatically affirmed especially by the African delegates turned, to be sure, into a question directed at the Lutherans themselves: Do the confessions of the Lutheran church render us the same service today as they did our fathers in their day, that Christ is preached truly and purely in Africa? The results of the Committee on Faith and Confession which took up just this question and the question of the necessity of a *confessio africana* are of decisive importance for all Christian churches in Africa. At the same time, they drive the Lutheran churches forward where "many barriers now existing

between the churches" will no doubt be torn down. (Report of the Committee on Faith and Confession, II, 6.)

Here lies, in my opinion, the ecumenical significance of the Marangu Conference: It has become clear for everyone that Africa is *one* continent with a multitude of all-African problems. Likewise it has become clear that the church of Jesus Christ is the only place where these problems can be taken hold of candidly and honestly on a common basis. Thus it is apparent at the same time that the church is being asked for her confession of Christ, a confession that is mighty in deed and clear in word.

Have we been speaking here *pro domo*? The intention was to speak *pro Domino*. But can that ever be done except in the confident faith that the poor, insignificant-looking church in which we live as children of God is *vere domus Domini*?

Heinrich Meyer

Marangu: an African Evaluation

When several men go to the sea to fetch water, each one will bring back as much as his bucket can hold. This is also true of what I received at Marangu. In spite of the fact that there is nothing human that is perfect, I venture to say that the All-Africa Lutheran Conference was a success.

I have three reasons for my statement. 1) At Marangu the strength of Lutheranism was revealed; 2) Many Lutheran leaders were united both spiritually and personally; and 3) Our attention was drawn to our weakness as a church.

1. *All the lectures* proved beyond a doubt that our *theology* is not that of doubt, and that our *creeds* are echoes of God's Word; therefore they are not refutable. The fact that every lecture or address was written and that each one received a copy of his own to read and digest after the meeting, is invaluable. In the future it would be more desirable to have *more time* for discussing each paper, especially lectures by our much cherished theologians and professors. For these are things worth reading and digesting.

2. Jesus said: "A new commandment I give unto you; that you love one another as I have loved you, that you also love one another. By this shall all men know that

you are my disciples, if you have love one to another". The old commandment to love one's neighbor was an essential feature of the Mosaic Law. It was re-enacted in a higher sense and grounded on a new motive; viz. *the love of Christ for mankind as shown in His atoning death*. This great bond of love and union among Christians is what the world sees least nowadays. People believe that it is but one of the vain *pia desideria*. And men fail. Utterances of prominent people, even those who call themselves Christians, bewilder us for they show an astonishing inimical attitude towards those of other races and nations. At Marangu Europeans, Americans and Africans met, who are greater strangers to one another than Europeans, Americans and Asians. There was not even a trace of racial discord. On the contrary, we enjoyed great fellowship in Christ. The mutual charity which permeated the whole atmosphere gave us a foretaste of glory divine. This alone would have made the meeting worthwhile. Union is strength indeed. More of our fellow workers must have such a glorious chance of Christian fellowship. I have tasted it and desire to have more.

3. Our attention was drawn to our weaknesses. We are a branch of the militant church. And every fighting force must know the source of its strength and try to get it, or if it has strength, try to maintain it. An army must seek unity; for example, as one Latin phrase has it, *Unitate vires*. Last but not least it must know its weak spots and strengthen itself in those points. Our formidable enemies make us feel our weakness. But Paul strikingly said: "When I am weak I am strong." Truly our weakness makes us realize our need of Christ—our strength.

What are our weaknesses? Many speak of *spiritual colonialism*. They say it must come to an end as quickly as possible. To me to compare missions fields with colonies and mother churches with imperialists is a misnomer. We have never been exploited by the mother churches. Instead they have allowed their daughters to suck too long. This is a common mistake of kind mothers. But it is not too late to correct it. The goal is to labor with all zeal, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, towards self-support, self-help, and self-propagation. But in this way we do not at all intend to slap the

hands that fed, and still feed, us. *Festina lente*. The handing over must be gradual and cordial. We Africans did not stress this point adequately at the conference. Let me again go back to Christ's words: "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required."

Truly church autonomy is desirable, but administrative and economical ability and soundness are not the most essential qualifications. *We needs pastors who are trained more effectively for church leadership*. Though I perhaps ought not to say so, the theological standard of the African pastors was revealed to be still very low. Institutions for advanced theological education should be established in Africa as soon as possible. Leaders trained on the spot are much better than those trained in foreign countries. Theological seminaries in all the different countries in Africa must rise to a higher level. Should the Lutheran church in Africa be left in the hands of 3rd and even 2nd grade theologians it will gradually deteriorate into a crypto-Calvinistic sect. We long to maintain Lutheranism. These points were not sufficiently stressed.

The great weakness which was revealed to us is that we have not been fully awake to the fact that a battle of rising tempo is being waged for the soul of Africa. The Marangu Conference gave us a glimpse into the heart of the great conflict. The conference helped us to find out and fix the value of our struggle in an isolated way. Now we think about Africa as a whole. To realize that we have common foes is a source of encouragement. We exchanged views and learned from one another's mistakes and experiences.

We can say then that the conference dealt with no dead theories but practical problems. The committees which were appointed to deal with specific subjects helped a great deal. But it seems as if those who planned the program had so much they wanted dealt with that they were forced to include a bit too much. In spite of the fact that there was so much to be done, however, nothing of it was not useful. This proves beyond doubt that another conference of this kind is needed in the near future. Financial difficulties may arise though. If that is the case, couldn't regional conferences be arranged for countries which are close to one another, viz. 1) Liberia, Nigeria and French Cameroons; 2) Ethiopia,

Tanganyika and Madagascar; 3) Southwest Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa? This would help to give more time to discussions of papers and questions, accompanied by the sharing of views and experiences.

I have begun to prepare a booklet in Zulu on the All-Africa Lutheran Conference; I am indeed grateful for all that it has done for us and am looking forward to such contacts in the future.

Simon Andreas Mbatha

The Marangu Documents

"It was the most important event to occur within the Lutheran World Federation since the Lund Assembly in 1947", said Dr. Lund-Quist upon his return from Africa. This All-Africa Lutheran Conference, held November 12-22 in Marangu, Tanganyika, East Africa, had brought together 165 leaders of church and mission from 10 African lands as well as from Europe and America. It was the first all-Africa conference ever called together, for no church or secular organization had ever previously attempted a conference with continent-wide representation in Africa. For this reason alone the conference was an historic event.

For the first time, African Christians became conscious of being not merely members of a tribe or a nation, but "Africans". Most of the delegates had never before travelled beyond the range of their own tribal territory. But at the end of the conference there was a definite consciousness of their being "African". This has great import for the development of the African Lutheran churches, for in their common study, thought and prayer the delegates discovered their unity and their strength.

Many issues were discussed. The fact that certain problems, however, were not brought into public seems as significant as the very frank discussion of other questions of church life. Political issues, while not topics of debate, were ever-present in the background of all discussion.

A Message to the Lutheran Churches throughout the World

A sense of the Christian unity found at Marangu, and of the urgency of the prob-

lems and opportunities that confront the church in Africa is conveyed by the Message of the Conference to the churches. Prepared by an African committee of five members, this document speaks for African Lutheranism today.

Christ is the Son of the Living God. (Matth. 16:16). Upon this rock the Church is built and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Let us keep this in mind always during our ups and downs in life. We, the delegates and visitors to the All-Africa Lutheran Conference, send to all Lutheran brethren in Africa, Asia, Europe and America our heartfelt thanks for your prayers and interest in this historic gathering. Here we have much blessing and fellowship with one another. In exchanging our views we have enjoyed unity of spirit and learned to know and love one another more than before. This is to the glorification of God our Saviour who wills that all men should be saved.

In spite of all this, grim realities stare us in the face. Ours is still *ecclesia militans*. We wrestle not only against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers and the rulers of darkness of this world, yea also Satan, the world and our flesh. Numerous formidable forces are marching against the Church. Islam is making bewildering progress in Africa; for it is of the world and therefore speaks things of the world which satisfy carnal desires, so those of the world hear it and accept it readily. Science in the hands of proud men may result in humanity's destruction. Materialistic and atheistic civilisation is pushing on with faith-diminishing human speculation and arrogance. Racial prejudice, racial discrimination and crazy nationalism, accompanied by bad habits of splitting tribes into smaller and smaller groups, all join to give encouragement and even birth to sects. Communism is steadily rolling from country into country, devouring Christians, aiming at eradicating our faith. Heathens are still numerous and syncretism is super-abundant.

Will it astonish you to hear that during our discussions there were up and downs? At certain times we felt as if we were before the gates of heaven and realized the meaning of Christ's words recorded in John 10:16, "And they shall become one flock, one shepherd." Oh what a foretaste of glory divine! Mutual fraternal love in Christ

affords it. Turning to the grim realities, sorrow and fear overtook us in so much that we began to ask one another this question: "Is Christ still with us or have we lost Him?" He who is always with us through His Word and sacraments answered: I am the good shepherd and I know my sheep. I laid my life down for them, and other sheep I have which are not of the fold. Them also I must bring and they shall hear my voice. Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, and, lo, I am with you always. Take up the whole armour of God and defend the Church. The best way of defense is counter-attack. Every individual Christian must be armed in such a way that he may be able to answer those who ask him wherein his faith and hope are based. Our confessions must be made clear to every Christian so that every one may have the faith in Christ that works by love. Brethren, let us all make these our mottos: Each one win one for Christ; work and pray and leave the rest in God's hands; union is strength.

Such meetings as this are a really invaluable aid in unifying our forces for the onslaught against common foes. We therefore pray that this conference should not be the last, but that many such should be convened in future in other parts of Africa. To rally forces to one spot where they will hear God's Word, pray together, exchange views and experiences is a great source of inspiration. We thank God for His servants who thought of and labored to bring this conference about. Rarely is so much owed by so many to so few.

With this short message we send you our hearty greetings from this Conference. May He who has begun this good work in us all continue it until the day of Jesus Christ.

The Committee Reports

In a program crowded with addresses, papers and reports some of the most significant hours were spent in the discussions following the addresses, in informal meetings and in the scheduled committees. So fruitful were these conversations that one delegate proposed, half-way through the conference, that the scheduled program be cancelled to allow the rest of the time for uninterrupted exchange of opinion in free discussion.

Four committees met simultaneously, delegates and visitors having been assigned to one or another, for several sessions, to work out statements expressing the consensus on major areas of the conference's concern. The statements coming from these committees were revised by action of the whole conference and appear below as the fullest statements of this African-dominated meeting on the task that lies before Lutheranism in Africa.

Faith and Confession

With startling suddenness the African has been thrown into the modern world. His life was full of dangers and destruction brought about by evil spirits in all their forms of witchcraft and sorcery. He has heard the Gospel and may be a member of the Church. But below the system of conscious Christian belief there seem to be deeply embedded old heathen traditions and customs. He is still often afraid of spirits and has difficulty in freeing himself from the old magic.

There are other problems as well facing the church and its members, such as the African sect movement, the advancing forces of Islam and Roman Catholicism, Bantu syncretism and blind anti-white nationalism.

How is the Lutheran Church to proclaim the true way of salvation amongst these forces and powers of the world? How will she safeguard and guide her pastors and teachers in their preaching and teaching of the Word of God? It is here that our confessions should provide guidance.

1. What is a Confession?

1. A confession is an explanation or exposition of the Word of God. It is founded on the Word, and always refers back to the Word. But it is more than a mere faithful repetition of the biblical Word. It is a proclamation of our faith, binding the believers together, not as a law but as a free testimony of the believers. A confession is a contemporary proclamation of our faith to our time and to our people.

The Lutheran Church in Africa is in desperate need of such a confession, surrounded as it often is by forces of heresy, schism and paganism. Confessional indifference must ultimately lead to the adulteration of the Gospel.

2. A confession must be a living expression by the church and its members. Our individual confession is sign and proof of our life in Christ — in the Word, in the sacraments and in the congregation. The written confessional statement of the church is the proclamation of the faith by the whole host of believers. These two confessions should therefore conform to one another. Our individual confession must be the confession of the church and the confession of the church must become a reality in the actual confession of the church members.

We recommend to the churches that they make a study of the binding nature of the church confession upon believers.

We have reason to believe that many church members are not too well acquainted with the teachings of the church, partly due to poor instruction in school and confirmation classes, but also because of the fact that the confessional books have as yet not been translated into all the vernacular languages.

3. Which are the confessions of the Lutheran churches in Africa? All of them profess the canonical books of the Old and New Testament as the revealed Word of God and therefore the only source of faith, doctrine and life. In their confessional basis they include the three Ecumenical Symbols: *Apostolicum, Nicenum and Athanasianum*. Common to all are also the *Augustana Invariata* and Luther's Small Catechism. Some churches include all the Lutheran confessions of the Book of Concord.

II. Possible additions to the confessional books of the Lutheran Church

We may ask what is the minimum requirement for expressing the Lutheran character of the church. The first thing to be said is that this character of the church does not necessarily stand or fall by the formal acceptance of the Ecumenical Symbols and the confessions of the Reformation. The same proclamation of faith expounded in these confessions may be put into new terms as long as such a confession conforms to the teachings given in the old confessions. However, the best way for the African church may be to include the following confessions: *Apostolicum, Nicenum, Athanasianum*, Luther's Small Catechism and *Augustana Invariata* in her constitution as her basis of faith, but also to make allowance for additional confessional statements, accord-

ing to the conditions of the indigenous church in her non-Christian surroundings and the special problems facing her here in Africa.

We, the Lutheran churches in Africa, ought carefully to study the problems confronting us, such as the ever-increasing sect movements in South Africa, polygamy, advancing religious forces like Islam and the Roman Catholic Church, the modern revivalistic and Roman Catholic interpretation of Holy Baptism, our stand in the ecumenical movement, and others.

The problems should be raised and answers sought in the old confessions. If there is no guidance or help to be found, then the African churches face the problem of adding new confessional statements to the older confessions or of amplifying the latter so the church and her members may know where they stand and how to proclaim their faith and Christian way of life.

Let us briefly consider the following problems:

1. *Bantu Syncretism and African Sect Movements.* The sect problem, especially in South Africa, raises a number of questions. Is there any other source of legitimate Christian inspiration than the Word of God? What about dreams and visions? Are purification rites necessary for salvation? Who calls the pastor and who gives him the right to administer the sacraments? Is the spreading of blood upon believers necessary for salvation? Is Christ the Savior for Africa? Or must Africa await the coming of a Black Messiah?

In South Africa there seem to be two types of sects or secessionist movements: Ethiopianism and Zionism. The first type seems generally to have retained the doctrines and methods of worship of the denomination from which it seceded. But they are most nationalistic in their outlook and regard this as their sole reason for existence.

The church must find an answer to the nationalistic aspirations of the Bantu people. To what extent is the national element a legitimate part in the life of the indigenous church?

The second type, Zionism, is a blend of old magic and Christian ideas. It often seems difficult for the Bantu people to accept the way of salvation as taught in the Bible, to grasp the realities of Law and Gospel, Sin and Grace. The Bantu will easily hear something else because his difficulty and his

need—as he sees it—is something else: not sin, but sickness; not fear of the eternal God, but of the evil spirit; not grace, but health.

A confessional statement dealing with the Lutheran interpretation of Law and Gospel may render valuable help to individual believers and to the teachers and preachers of the church.

2. *Polygamy*. What is the church's answer to polygamy? In some parts of Africa this is not only a question of old heritage and heathen custom, but a far-reaching socioeconomic problem. The church's stand on monogamous marriage seems to end in ever-increasing prostitution. Where are the young women folk going to find their husbands? Does the church acknowledge heathen marriage as long as it was instituted according to the rules and regulations of the country? Can the church accept a man living in polygamy with all his wives or only one—which one? May he choose? What about the wives? Do we allow the first, or the second or the third wife to join the church without leaving her husband?

Our practice even in the Lutheran churches seems to differ. We ask the Lutheran World Federation Commission on World Missions to choose a committee to study the problem and report back to the next All-Africa Lutheran Conference.

3. *Islam*. Many of the Christian churches in Africa are facing the advancing forces of Islam. Many of those who proclaim themselves as Moslems are, however, no true followers of Mohammed. They do not want to be counted as pagans and so they choose the easier religion, Islam, and are allowed to live as before—as pagans, as animists, idol worshippers and polygamists.

How could our confession give help to our church members facing these problems? The confessional statement should:

- a) Explain the Christian doctrine of Holy Trinity—three Persons but still one God.
- b) Stress the privilege and duty of all Christians to proclaim their faith and live up to their faith. Every Christian a missionary!
- c) State the equality of man before God. No race discrimination!
- d) State the necessity of the virgin birth of Christ and his vicarious death on the cross for the redemption of mankind.

4. *Roman Catholicism*. The Roman Catholic Church seems to have gone all out in a

tremendous campaign to win Africa for Rome. Hospitals, schools and churches are being built all over Africa and the number of Roman Catholic missionaries is ever increasing.

What is our answer to the heresy of the Roman Church as seen in Africa today? For instance, the worshipping of saints and ancestral spirits? Shall our pastors baptize children of pagan parents as the Romans do?

The common church member should know about the heresy of the Roman Church. The importance of personal witness in word and life must be stressed, the willingness to bear the Cross and thus to demonstrate the contrast between evangelical Christianity and the Roman way of life and worship as known in Africa.

5. *Baptism*. The Lutheran teaching of the way of salvation is attacked from two sides: by the Roman Catholic Church and by modern revival movements. Briefly we may say that the *ordo salutis* (way of salvation) as taught by the Lutheran Church proceeds as follows:

- a) *Sola gratia* (grace alone)
- b) *In Baptismo* (in baptism)
- c) *Sola fide* (faith alone)

The Roman Catholic Church denies point c), *sola fide*, in its *ordo salutis*. Baptism works *ex opere operato* (by the act performed). This means the denial also of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. Faith is *fiducia*, trust in the Lord. Or more simply expressed: to believe is to bring your sins to Jesus. Baptism is necessary for salvation, but it is not apart from faith created in man by the Holy Spirit through the teachings and preaching of the Word of God.

Without such faith there can be no salvation. The lost son can only come back again to the parental home when this faith has again been revived in his heart and he is willing to bring his sins to the crucified and risen Lord.

Modern revival movements are tempted to deny point b), *in baptismo*. Infant baptism is often discarded. What should have happened in the sacrament, in baptism, is moved down to point c), *sola fide* (faith alone), which actually means that a person is saved *propter fidem* (for the sake of faith), and not *propter Christum* (for Christ's sake).

A confessional statement clearly stating the Lutheran teaching with regard to Holy Baptism, regeneration and conversion would

no doubt be of great help to the church members and her servants.

6. *The Ecumenical Stand.* The doctrinal statement of the African church should be a safeguard and guide for its development as a living member both of the Lutheran body and of the *corpus Christi*—the Holy Catholic Church.

A possible new Lutheran confession for Africa—a positive proclamation of our faith in Christ—will no doubt tear down many barriers now existing between the churches. Such a confession would not seek the differences between the churches, but would be a positive proclamation of our faith in Christ as Lord and Savior.

III. *How could new confessional statements be incorporated in the present confessional books of the Lutheran Church?*

1. By adding new statements amplifying the old confessions. Nothing should be added to the Ecumenical Symbols or the *Augustana Invariata*; these will remain as a guide in the form in which we have inherited them. But additional confessional statements may easily be added to Luther's Small Catechism in the form of questions and answers which, in a clear and simple way, will clarify the new problems facing the church and its members.

2. A comprehensive confessional statement—*Confessio Africana*—may be worked out, not necessarily replacing the old confessions, but amplifying the Lutheran teachings in terms and in a language which will be understood by the modern African.

The Growing Church

As we have gathered here at Marangu, coming from all corners of Africa, we gratefully thank God that ours is a growing church. But we have realized afresh at this conference the need for reviving the church and thus strengthening this growth.

The Church of Christ is like a growing plant. God gives the growth; our task is the planting and the watering (I Cor. 3:6). We find that the Church grows in three directions: the roots represent the growth in depth; the stem represents the growth in height; the branches signify the growth in breadth. But the power of all this growth is the hidden life within the plant (Col. 3:3).

1. It has come to us these days with renewed conviction that if this hidden life is to vitalize the plant of the church, we

must realize afresh our function as a praying and evangelizing church, receiving our strength from the Word of God and the sacraments. As a Lutheran church we are thankful that when we study the Bible we can also resort to that unailing guide pointing to Christ, namely Luther's Small Catechism. Since the compelling need today as always is repentance and faith in Christ, it is more necessary than ever to emphasize the importance of God's grace in Holy Baptism and to declare the continuing implication of baptism for the believer. The necessity of drowning the old man daily through repentance and of the new man's daily resurrection through faith should be a constant theme in our teaching and preaching.

2. The plant must have strong and deep roots. Only as a praying and evangelizing fellowship can the church really live and grow. Prayer must begin at home, yes, in the heart of every individual Christian. The heart of natural man is like a stony place. Through our daily confession and the forgiveness of sins God can change this stony place into good soil by His living Word. As we read our Bibles daily, we must make the words we read come alive by prayer.

Regular family prayers have always been a sound practice in Lutheran churches in all parts of the world. It is urgently needed that Christian families establish daily worship at home and that they get effective help, e. g. through literature, to make this family worship a daily source of strength. Pastors could well inquire about the family altar when members register for communion.

The pastoral shepherding of the individual Christian through home visitation by the pastor and devoted laymen is of fundamental importance. For the church is as strong as the local congregation, and the village congregation as strong as the individual Christian. If the individual Christian receives this shepherding he—or she—in turn, will strengthen the village congregation, and the living village congregations strengthen and revive the church as a whole.

3. We exhort our congregations to be aware of any tendencies which are not of God, "testing the spirits" (I John 4:1). But at the same time we would point our congregations to the Word of God: "Do not quench the Spirit" (I Thess. 5:19). Therefore we could rally all our preachers to discover afresh the dynamic, life-giving power

which should characterize our church services.

In a very special sense the Living God is present in His holy temple (Isaiah 6). In thanksgiving for the wondrous gift of His presence the congregation lifts up its song and praise as a tree which sends its stem up toward heaven. God has in abounding measure bestowed upon his African people the precious gift of song: this gift should be sanctified and returned to him as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God (Romans 12:1).

4. (a) A living and growing tree stretches out its branches. The church must evangelize, or it withers. Our Lutheran church should be gripped by the vision of the evangelization of all Africa and join hands with all evangelical churches in Africa to accomplish this Christ-given commission. In order to accomplish this great primary task of the church, we point to the tremendous potential of witness and service to be found in the laity of our churches.

(b) The reports brought to Marangu from all our churches in Africa have been unanimous in pointing to the insufficiency of past and present training of the ministry. For the sake of the African church herself, but no less for the sake of the Church universal, highly trained African theologians are needed, men who, under God, will devote themselves to creative theological thinking.

It is desirable that an institution for advanced theological education be established as soon as possible in Southern Rhodesia, Liberia or Ethiopia.

Until such an institution is established it would help greatly the young churches if scholarships were granted to enable deserving Africans to study in European and American universities.

It is desirable that local institutions in the various countries in Africa be developed more fully so that the standard of training for teachers, pastors and evangelists may be more in line with the rising educational standards in Africa.

Our understanding of the ministry of the Church of Christ needs to be deepened and strengthened. The training of the ordained ministry must be such as to enable the pastors in their turn to train local leaders. The calling of the whole ministry—at all its levels—is, above all, to point to the Living Christ in the midst of His people. Our

church has need of living centers where local leaders can come for the refreshing of mind and spirit in order to enable them to give living Christian nurture to children, young people and adults.

(c) The Church in Africa is the church of African Christians, a part of the worldwide Lutheran family and of the whole Christian church. Its growth to full maturity should be encouraged in every way.

The Lutheran missions should have a concise but flexible plan of devolution to give leadership opportunities to Africans. The church in Africa will be strengthened if more responsible positions are filled by Africans.

African pastors, especially those in leading positions, and western missionaries alike should be kept fully informed on mission and church policy, plans and work.

5. The church is like a growing tree: in its healthy growth the church pushes aside the unhealthy undergrowth of persistent old paganism, bewildering new sects, modern anti-Christian world forces and anti-Christian social conditions.

6. In our daily life in our little corners of this great continent, we are sometimes tempted to self pity, to regard ourselves as forgotten and isolated little shrubs. In the coming together of representatives of the whole Lutheran family in Africa we have been greatly encouraged. We have seen with our own eyes that the Lutheran church in Africa is like a tree planted by God in some of the most strategic and vital corners of Africa, north, west, south and east. We would pray that He by His grace would always give His Church in Africa fresh life and new strength and great growth.

The Serving Church

"I stand among you as One who serves." These are the words of our Lord, the Living Head of this body, His Church. Following His example, the church has gone forth into His world with a three-fold ministry witnessing to the lost, healing the sick and teaching His Word and Way to all. That the ministry of the serving church might be more effective this Committee would submit the following recommendations:

1. That the church as a whole recognize itself as a serving agency; and
2. That each individual be led to see his opportunities for service not only as a high

privilege but also as a grave responsibility to glorify his Savior through the services of the church.

I. The Ministry of Education

Because our missions operate under widely differing conditions, the Committee has found it difficult to formulate recommendations applicable to all. In some places government has already taken over the management of the schools, while in others missions are urged to manage and build up their schools so as to make them truly effective channels for instruction and spiritual blessing.

Missions should gradually turn the schools over to the local churches so that if and when government takes over the schools they will take over from the church.

The following are our recommendations for making government controlled schools channels for Christian instruction and spiritual nurture where it is possible:

1. In the event that our schools must be relinquished to government, mission should make every effort to maintain their higher schools and teacher training centers. Missions should endeavor to retain the hostels of such schools, using them as channels for Christian influence.

2. Government should be asked to give more time for religious instruction.

3. A teacher of Christianity should be posted in each school.

4. The practice of teaching large groups of children from various classes at the same hour should be discouraged.

5. Syllabi of instruction should be carefully worked out for each standard and regular tests given over the material.

We further recommend:

1. That there be a strong and attractive Sunday School program supported, if possible, by the local congregation. Pastors and elders should visit the homes and urge all children to attend.

2. That each congregation establish a junior worship service with a program suited to the needs of children.

3. That use be made of all audio-visual aids.

4. That area youth directors and local youth leaders be appointed and a definite program be worked out for guiding young people of the congregation.

5. That Christian music be more fully recognized and encouraged as a medium in youth work (choirs, bands, etc.).

II. Medical Work

The Christian Church believes that the Gospel is God's good news of salvation for the whole man, for the needs of the body and the soul. The church has adhered to the scriptural principle that medical work is for Christians a continuation of the healing ministry of Christ. God has shown us three ways of healing:

1. The Christian faith can accept all drugs and means of surgery which God has put into the hands of man through the medical profession as God's gift to preserve the health of the body as the temple of the spirit.

2. We know now a good deal about the interaction between the body and soul. Many physical illnesses have their source in wrong attitudes towards sins within our soul. In such cases faith may confidently use Christian psychology and soul care as means to cure illnesses which do not respond to treatment with drugs.

3. But there are without doubt instances where God grants healing as an answer to the prayer of faith which cannot be explained in any way by medical science and which we may justly call miracles.

We must, however, state clearly that demonic powers also have influence over the body and that they too can effect miraculous healings. No one can be Jesus' disciple who surrenders himself at the same time to the power of demons.

In order to help our congregations that they may discern the spirits we should remind them of the following Biblical truths:

1. Only faith in Christ Jesus the Savior of sinners can receive true healing.

2. The church of Jesus Christ may bring everything, including physical distress, to her Lord in prayer and God can grant miraculous restoration of health in answer to our prayers and supplications, but we must always pray, "Thy will be done".

3. God the Holy Spirit has granted the special gift of healing to individual Christians (I. Cor. 12:9) but such gift will always point back to the Giver, the Triune God.

4. The gift of healing is a gift of grace and will never ask for another reward than

that we repent and dedicate our healed body to God's service anew.

5. Such healing will never separate the healing person and the healed from the church.

6. Healing the sick is not a means of propaganda, but a sign and testimony pointing to the Lord, our Savior Himself.

What has been said underlines the importance of the service that every living member of the church can render in the ministry of healing by visitation of the sick, by soul-care and by prayer for and with the diseased.

Even as we acknowledge that God is the source of all true strength and health, so also we welcome the work of medical doctors and nurses as His ministering servants in the fight against all forms of disease. In order that this ministry may be available and exercised in the name of our Lord Jesus to bless the life of believers and for a testimony of God's love for non-believers, missions and churches maintain clinics and hospitals.

However, medical work should not be competitive with service provided by government where government provides adequate medical care or states future policy toward that end. It is the duty of the church to cooperate. In the case of central hospitals provided by government the church may have responsibility toward more remote areas, serving them by dispensaries and mobile units.

It is furthermore evident that the church has a responsibility in the training of Christian personnel who will serve with Christian love in government as well as in church institutions. The church must bear in mind that medical work is always an integral part of the evangelizing ministry of the church.

Wherever it is possible, parish workers should be appointed to care for the needy in the congregation, the sick, the aged, and the poor.

III. Evangelization

The Committee recommends the following:

1. The church must do more towards the saving of souls by bringing Christ into the homes, slums and everywhere where there are people who stand in need of His saving grace. This can only be done if the servants

who carry the message are in living relationship with the Lord.

2. We urge that in all our congregations all over Africa Christians pray for a revival starting with each one of us. By revival we mean nothing less than a resuscitation to the state of full renewed life in Christ Jesus. We believe that when Christ is given His rightful place in our lives, the work of evangelization will go forward with new power.

3. Every church is urged to write, publish and distribute more Christian literature both within the church and its institutions and as media for evangelism.

4. Every opportunity should be used to propagate the Gospel by means of radio.

5. The church should institute a program for training in stewardship of every kind.

6. Refresher courses should be held from time to time for pastors, evangelists, teachers, and other Christian workers.

7. Bible women's work (voluntary and paid workers) should be recognized and encouraged for the strengthening of the Christian home life, sponsoring helpful congregational projects, etc.

8. Thought should be given to the problem of boys' and girls' leaving their homes for work in big cities where they fall into sin, and we should seek solutions to this problem: spiritual strengthening, counseling, seeking jobs nearer home, arranging temporary living quarters for girls in Christian homes in cities, etc.

9. Christians should be encouraged and helped to see opportunities for service to their fellowmen, and even their voluntary efforts be organized (visitation, counseling, personal work—according to their gifts).

The Church and its Environment

In considering the topic, "The Church and Its Environment" we must above all remember that we are dealing primarily with the church. The church is of Divine origin. God's Holy Spirit works through His means of grace to establish, keep and extend the church. It must in any environment be true to its nature and its divine purpose. The church is, however, established in a human setting and is composed of human individuals of varying natures and backgrounds. Through its members the environment penetrates into the church. This

segment of the environment must be molded by the Holy Spirit to conform to the nature of the church. Its setting in the world, its environmental factors, must be evaluated for the purpose of influencing them, using them or counteracting them in order that the church may fulfil its purpose of extending its borders most effectively among men. Some segments of the environment may be influenced to give blessing to mankind and to make the church more effective in its life of witness. Others may be hostile to the church and harmful to its life. It is the duty of the church to face these in the light of its nature and ultimate purpose.

1. In Africa the church is surrounded by pagan practices which have great influence on the African. The pagans who believe in such practices think they can get help from them in their daily life. Christians of the first generation have believed in them and their children are brought up in an environment largely influenced by paganism. Churches should be aware of this and be watchful lest pagan thought and practices enter into the church and so lead Christians back to paganism.

2. The church should seek to replace pagan customs and practices with something of positive Christian nature to develop the spiritual and social ties within the Christian community.

3. As many men leave their families because of economic need to work in industrial and mining centers, the church should make provision for reaching and serving such men in the places of their work, and Christian men should be followed with letters of introduction to the pastors of such localities.

4. People from Europe and Asia are one factor in the environment of the church, and some who are not Christians set a very bad example to African Christians. It is, therefore, very urgent that the church carry on mission work among them.

5. Another factor in the environment is the competitive activity of the Roman Catholic Church, especially in the field of education. It is felt that African churches are economically unable to meet this competition. More financial help is urgently needed from the missions for educational work.

6. Recognizing the multiplication of semi-Christian sects in certain areas of Africa, it

is urged that the various churches intensify the program of Bible study for their members in order to firmly root them in the truth and that they earnestly seek to lead the members of these sects into the full truth of the Word of God.

7. It is recognized that the church is existing in areas under control of various governments and that its members are also members of the communities under these governments and cannot therefore be indifferent to the government and its activities. As such they should in a spirit of loyalty to their respective governments seek to preserve and foster those things which pertain to human rights according to Christian precepts.

8. It should be the duty of the church to wield its influence in government for the welfare of its people, by voicing Christian principles and by urging Christians to participate in government in such spheres as may be open to them and be found profitable to the church and the people.

Recommendations from a meeting of African delegates

An impromptu decision was made during the conference to provide opportunity for African delegates to meet without the participation of Europeans. A lively and very useful discussion is reported to have taken place. The following recommendations, made at this meeting, illustrate some of the major concerns of African church leaders.

At special sessions of all the African delegates to the All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu on November 16th and 18th, 1955, the following points were discussed and approved unanimously for submission to the Conference:

1. The African delegates feel that it is very desirable that an institution for advanced theological education be established as soon as possible in Southern Rhodesia, Liberia or Ethiopia.

2. Until such an institution is established it would help greatly the young Churches if scholarships were granted to enable deserving Africans to study in European and American Universities.

3. It is desirable that local institutions in the various countries in Africa be developed more fully so that the standard of training for teachers, pastors, and evangelists may

be more in line with the rising educational standards in Africa.

4. It is strongly felt that it would strengthen the young churches in Africa if more responsible positions were filled by Africans to enable them to realize more fully their responsibility for the work.

5. It would greatly help the propagation of the Christian faith in Africa if missionaries in their relations with Africans showed a better example of fighting all kinds of discrimination.

The African delegates wish to convey to all those who made this Conference possible an expression of their gratitude and hope that more such conferences will be convened from time to time.

Resolutions

At its closing session the conference expressed its thanks in a series of resolutions to those who made the conference possible, its greetings to other Lutherans, particularly in Asia, and its concern on certain ad hoc issues. Some are of special interest.

The Conference expresses its gratitude to the Lutheran World Federation which had the vision and the faith to organize the All-Africa Lutheran Conference. We ask that our greetings and thanks be extended to the members of the Lutheran Church all over the world who have remembered this Conference in their prayers. We look forward with anticipation to another All-Africa Lutheran Conference five years hence (1960).

Resolved, that the All-Africa Lutheran Conference meeting in Marangu send greetings in Christ Jesus our Lord to our brothers in Asia who will be meeting for the first Asia Lutheran Conference at Madras in January 1956, praying that such blessings of fellowship as we have enjoyed in Jesus Christ our Lord might also be theirs in abundant measure.

Resolved, that the All-Africa Lutheran Conference send congratulations to the Lutheran churches in India as they observe the 250th Anniversary of the coming of Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Pluetschau to Tranquebar, the first missionaries of the modern Protestant mission era. We pray

that, as the Lutheran churches of India give thanks for the blessings of the past and the present and look to the future, they may be led by the Spirit of Christ to accomplish the work He has called them to do.

The All-Africa Lutheran Conference takes note of the desire expressed by some African churches that the titles for church offices, such as Bishop instead of Superintendent, should be studied with the intent that any possible changes in terminology or organization might be prompted by the guidance of God, be biblical, and serve the best interests of the Church. It is recommended that the Commission on World Missions provide materials for such study to the churches which may request such advice.

Encouraged by reports presented to this Conference of the Divine Spirit's powerful activity in reviving the churches and bringing about repentance and faith particularly in Ethiopia and Madagascar, we who have been accorded the great favor of taking part in this Conference are resolved to commend earnestly to our churches and their leaders the word of the Apostle Peter: "Repent ye therefore and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." (Acts 3:19). Furthermore, we resolve to pledge to one another that we shall study the Word of God and our own relation to it with the object of doing all that can be done in order to clear the way for the coming of such seasons of refreshing, of the need of which all churches of the world, including our Lutheran churches in Africa, are increasingly aware.

The many interested in a more complete coverage of the conference in Tanganyika will be pleased to know that a volume to be named Marangu, A Report of the All-Africa Lutheran Conference, 1955, is now being prepared. Jointly edited by Ethiopian Ambassador to London, Emmanuel Abraham, and Fridtjov Birkeli, the paperbound volume will include digests of discussions as well as texts of addresses, informational reports and other papers. The book is scheduled for release February 15, 1956, and will be available at cost from LWF's Geneva headquarters.

View of the Asia Lutheran Conference

The scene is the flat-roofed main building of the Gurukul Theological College and Research Institute in Madras, India. It is the morning of January 20th. Men, and a few women, are making their way into the main lecture hall, over-flowing out onto the broad, pillared verandah, and standing about on the flight of stone steps leading to the building. There are many well-known faces: Bishop Lilje and Bishop Sandegren; President Benson of the Augustana Church and Sister Eva Lyngby of Denmark; indeed, the whole Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Federation. A number of missionaries (none of them wearing the traditional pith helmet) are present, together with Japanese pastors and Chinese from Hongkong and Taiwan. A group of Indonesians is distinguished by their national cap, a sort of truncated fez. A Papuan Pastor Mileng of New Guinea, is accompanied by his missionary colleague, for he speaks little English. But dominant among the group of nearly one hundred are the Indians. They are (everywhere—quick)—courteous, gesticulating as they talk.

This is the Asia Lutheran Conference, delegates from some fifteen churches and nine countries in Asia and the Southwest Pacific, with visitors from Europe and America as well. Their purpose is to examine the times in which they live, the faith of the Church and the task that lies before them. They represent nearly a million and a half Christians.

The group finds places and newly consecrated Bishop Manikam of Tranquebar opens the Conference, as representative of both of the sponsoring agencies, LWF's Commission on World Missions and the hosts, India's Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. (Later his place in the chair is shared with Mr. A.M. Tambunan, First Deputy Speaker of the Indonesia Parliament and leader of the twelve member ment and leader of the twelve member Batak delegation and by Dr. Chitoshe Kishi, president of the Lutheran theological Seminary in Tokyo.)

Bishop Manikam's opening address is a rapid survey of recent changes in Asian life—political, social, economic, religious—and

a suggestion of the implications of these changes for the life of the church.

In the last ten years, he points out, six hundred million people have won independence from colonial powers, and nationalism is a force to be reckoned with. He speaks of the rapid industrialization of Asian countries; what took Europe a hundred years, Asia is trying to do in ten. There is a consequent social revolution; growth of urban centers, which the church cannot ignore; the breakdown of class and tribal distinctions, rapid growth in literacy, a general breaking away from old foundations that leaves the masses rootless and uncertain, open to the Gospel as well as to ideologies that appeal because of their materialistic base.

Paradoxically, the growth of atheism and secularism is accompanied by a resurgence of the old religions, the latter movement related to the growth of self-conscious nationalism. Christianity, closely linked as it has been to colonialism, must prove itself to be not an enemy but a friend to the hopes of Asia for a more just place in international affairs and to the renewal of vital national cultures. Two lines of adjustment are necessary, suggests Bishop Manikam. One is the training of indigenous leadership and the replacement of Westerners, who find entry to at least some lands difficult, by native-born church leaders. The paternalistic relationship of western churches to those in Asia, "ecclesiastical colonialism", must give way to real partnership, with two-way traffic. Can there be greater exchange of aid among the churches in Asia itself?

The other line is "bold experimentation" in rooting our Christians faith more deeply into Asian life and culture. The Batak Church is a conspicuous example of successful efforts in that direction. The danger of syncretism is constant and insidious. The church must be Asian lest it lose its place in Asian life—yet it must remain rooted in Christ.

He speaks also of evangelism, "the life-blood of the church". In every case our churches are still small minorities in the total population, and the task that was begun 250 years ago in Tranquebar is still unfinished. The call of Christ to evangelize must be the primary concern of the church.

President Chitose Kishi of the Tokyo Lutheran Theological Seminary speaks too that morning, on the relevance of the Lutheran confessions to Asian churches. He has spent time in prison for his faith, and knows whereof he speaks. "A church must have a confession", he says, "to protect it from error." For four hundred years the Catechism and the Augsburg Confession have served to interpret the Scriptures, and have stood constant testing by them. The question is, does our Asian situation need re-statement—or further statement? (The same question was raised by the All-Africa Lutheran Conference.)

It is around these two points that the discussions and further papers and addresses on the next two days revolve: *The church as a confessing fellowship* and *the church as an evangelistic organism*.

Both are issues of burning importance for Asian church life. Too often in every age the trumpet of Christendom has sounded an uncertain tone. The first task of an evangelistic church is to know its message. The second is to speak it in terms that can be understood by the people. These problems face the Asia churches as they confront the non-Christian world about them. What is this Gospel which it is imperative for us to proclaim to all people? Do our present theological formulations, with their Western backgrounds, speak in terms that are understood in Asian life today? Can adjustment be made without endangering the kernel of the message of God's Word?

The confessional problem relates itself also to life within the Christian community. Asian churches are no less touched than those in the West by the atmosphere of the ecumenical movement with its emphatic call to unity in the Body of Christ. The divisive tendencies common to Protestantism are there, to be sure, as they are everywhere. Problems of language and communal interest tend to separate churches. Indeed, the churches in Asia are constantly spawning new sects unknown in the West. Yet the first steps toward reconciliation within Protestantism are being taken in the East, particularly in India, in this generation. There are good reasons for this. One is that the young churches, facing a non-Christian environment as small minorities, feel the need of clasping hands, and are engaged in

a great number of cooperative enterprises. The church is constantly embarrassed in its confrontation of the outside world by its divisions, especially because it cannot as a rule give satisfactory reason for them. The historical factors that have divided the Western confessions are largely irrelevant in Asia. The doctrinal divergences often seem *picayune* as compared to the larger unity of faith. The maturing churches must now deal with questions of faith and order for themselves and the Western missionary bodies are becoming reconciled to the need for this. Indian Lutherans are particularly ready to discuss these matters, for they are facing today the question of union with the Church of South India. Conversations carried on in the past few years, as readers of these columns know, have shown a remarkable degree of doctrinal agreement. What will the sharing of experiences and thinking with Lutherans from other lands mean to the Indian churches as they face this problem of union? And to the others? What will the presence of the LWF leaders, with their implicit reminder of the world-wide *oicumené* of Lutheranism mean to the younger churches?

Here are some of the questions that are raised in Discussion Section I: What is the center of the Christian *martyria* before the world? What does it mean to be "Lutheran"? Are confessions a help or a hindrance? Are our churches Asian in thinking? Is a "Lutheran" church as such necessary in Asia? Is maintenance of our separateness from other churches justified?

Not less important are questions raised in Section II, and by the speakers whose concern is the practical rather than theological aspect of the church's evangelistic task? The vast unreached multitudes in Asia, many of whose hearts are today more open than before to the Gospel, call for renewed thought on the practical task of preaching and teaching. The churches are not by far as effective evangelistic agents as they ought to be. One reason is that they are pre-occupied with internal problems. Another is the heritage of missions who have in the past regarded the extension of the church as their particular responsibility. Another is the failure in congregational life to develop a praying, informed, giving, and witnessing laity.

The Conference hears lectures on stewardship, on the responsibilities of autonomy, on parish evangelism and the relative positions of clergy and laity as co-workers in evangelism. In speaking of stewardship, the Rev. Atsumi Tasaka of Tokyo emphasizes the need for financial independence if a church is to become truly indigenous. Recent emphasis by church leaders has resulted in year by year progress toward this goal in spite of difficulties.

Rev. T.S. Liu, young pastor of one of the rapidly growing parishes in Hongkong, points out among other things that "the practice of employing paid evangelists to preach the Gospel where there is already an organized parish makes that parish irresponsible in the matter of evangelism". Rather "the entire church membership should be won for evangelism". This is the task of the church's ministers.

Mr. V. D. Pitchai-Pillai, public relations officer in the government of Malaya, speaks in clear terms of the need for proper understanding of the pastor's position. He is neither an executive with "a cadre of paid subordinates to run errands" nor a servant to do the bidding of the laymen of the church; he is a minister of the Word. In a properly functioning congregation, laymen not only handle the business affairs of the parish, they are above all an evangelizing community. The creation of "lay orders" is proposed.

Here are some of the questions raised in discussion sessions. Is the ministry functioning as it ought? What hinders us from more rapid growth? What have we as churches to say to missions about evangelism? How and why are we failing?

Comments on the recent All-Africa Lutheran Conference reveal that for all the stimulation and information received in the formal conference sessions its greatest significance lay in the simple opportunity given to Christians to live together for a few days under the Cross of Christ. The Asia Lutheran Conference is to do the same thing for our churches there. In common Bible Study, prayer, exchange of information and personal knowledge of each other there develops a unity of faith which will, it is hoped, be brought home to their churches by all participants in the three day conference of Asian Lutherans at Gurukul, Madras.

Arne Sovik

Theology

On Calendar Reform

The object in arranging any calendar is to correlate the three units of time used by mankind: a) the year; b) the month; c) the week

a) Ever since Julius Caesar the solar year has been generally used in all civilized countries as the measure of the year. This period of time comprises 365 days, 5 hours and 48³/₄ minutes, roughly 365 days. Ever since the Julian reform, the secular year has therefore been established at 365 days. Every four years a leapday is inserted in order to make up for the annual extra quarter day (that is, for a day every four years). This arrangement, however, involves an average annual excess of 11 minutes (¹/₄ day = 6 hours, while the year's time above 365 days amounts to 5 hours 48³/₄ minutes). Pope Gregory XIII's calendar reform balanced this discrepancy for it dropped 3 leapdays in each 400 year period, namely the leapdays in full century years not divisible by 400 (1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, 2200, 2300, etc., while 1600, 2000, 2400 remain leapyears).

The calendar reform proposal pending in the UN will not change anything in this manner of arranging years.

b) The original measure for the month was the so-called synodal lunar orbit from new moon to new moon which, on the average, takes 29¹/₂ days. With many nations in times past 12 such orbits formed the year. The Julian calendar reform made the length of the month independent of the moon. The month was now fixed at 30 days in 5 instances in the year, at 31 days in 7 and at 28 days—29 in a leapyear—in one instance. The quarters (each three month period) are of unequal length as a result of the different lengths of the months. The year's first quarter comprises 90 days (91 in a leapyear), the second quarter 91 and both the third and the fourth quarters have 92 days.

At this point the proposed calendar reform suggests an essential change. It too maintains the number of months at 12, and four quarters, but it attempts to equalize the length of the quarters. This is possible only by reducing the calendar days available to the months from 365 to 364. Each quarter has then exactly 91 days—13

weeks. The 91 days are divided among the three months in such a manner that the first month in any quarter has 31 days, the two following months 30 days each. Since the first day in the quarter is a Sunday, the first month of each quarter has 5 Sundays, the other months only four. In this manner each month is uniformly left with 26 work days and the number of work days in each quarter is uniformly 78. The present calendar provides anywhere from 24–27 work days a month, from 77–80 a quarter. The superfluous 365th day would be attached to the year's end as a day outside any month (World Day). Each leapyear is to have an additional extra-monthly day after the first half year, that is at the end of June.

In this shape the calendar would result in four quarters, each following the same calendar pattern. January is structured like April, July, and October; February like May, August and November, etc. There is no question that this would extraordinarily simplify calendar calculations for industry, trade and communication.

This calendar plan, in the meantime, has been modified by a German economist (Walter Nauke of Wolfsburg: "The Wolfsburg Variant"). He makes the first day in each quarter a Monday, giving 30 days each to the first and second month, 31 days to the third month of each quarter. The 31st will always fall on a Sunday, leaving each month with two equal parts of 13 weekdays and 2 Sundays (with the last Sunday of each quarter's third month in addition at the quarter's end). The first two days (1st and 2nd), the two middle (15th and 16th), and the last two days (29th and 30th) of each month are always working days. After the first and after the third week of the month two working days (8th and 9th, 22nd and 25th) fall together. The "World Day" does not fall on the year's end but on the year's beginning, it is "New Year's Day", preceded by Sunday, December 31, and followed by Monday, January 1, a working day. Leapday is introduced in the same manner as "Mid-Year" between Sunday, June 31, and Monday, July 1. From the point of view of commerce this plan appears much more carefully thought out than, and considerably superior to, the proposal before the UN.

c) Hitherto each calendar reform has carefully avoided touching the sequence of 7-day weeks. Since neither 365 nor 366 are

divisible by 7, the calendar dates are moved by one day each year in their relation to the days of the week, two days in leapyears. The new calendar reform's most far-reaching change deals with this point: the so-called World Day at the end or at the beginning of the year (in leapyears also leapday at mid-year) does not stand merely outside the month but also outside the week. A Saturday is followed by the World Day and then by Sunday, in place of the Monday by present count. (The "German plan" provides for a World Day following Sunday and preceding Monday.)

This point has provoked the most objections. For the rhythm of the 7-day week, maintained without a break through tens of thousands of years and set in the order of creation according to the account of the Bible, must not be disturbed by measures of rationalization. Even though Judaism at this point appeals to a biblical commandment which Christendom cannot accept in this legalistic manner, it must nevertheless be noted that any break in the 7-day week is no harmless measure to be approved without second thought, even though it occur only once a year. We need merely call to mind the French and the Russian revolutions where the 10-day week and the 5-day week respectively were to replace the 7-day week. Even though the current calendar reform basically holds fast the 7-day week, superseding this principle once a year, or twice in leapyears, it represents an invasion of territory that has hitherto been regarded as by nature beyond any reform. This invasion must not be taken lightly. For it would not be a large next step to an even more rationalistic calendar reform based on a 6-day week. This would make all months equally long, provide five weeks in each month with a world day in every quarter. In addition, Christmas could be placed on the fifth world day, doing away with the unpleasant interruption of the week by the Christmas holiday. A week could then be divided into equal parts and the modern efforts towards shortening the working-period in each week could easily be combined with the shortening of the week as such. This account is not to imply that all this is intended even now. It is merely to point out the danger that, in giving up the 7-day week at any point at all, we relinquish a principle which hitherto in the history of mankind has been regarded as

inviolable. But even if such possible consequences were to be ignored, the proposed calendar reform with its intercalary World Day would result in disruptions of the church calendar which are more than merely external. New Year's Day, for instance, the day of the Circumcision of Christ, comes a week after Christmas (December 25). In both plans Christmas falls on a Monday, New Year's Day falls on a Sunday in the UN plan, on the extra-weekly World Day in the seven-day period between Christmas and the Day of Circumcision, but the disruption of the sequence of the week's days will obscure the fact of the "octave" for the members of our congregations.

If we finally evaluate the proposed calendar reform from the church's point of view, the following must be noted:

a) In as far as it affects the length of the month, calendar reform is unobjectionable.

b) The fact that the same calendar day will fall on the same weekday every year can considerably impoverish the Church calendar of festivals. Many of the lesser festivals would in future be fixed on a weekday and never fall on a Sunday.

It is true that no fixing of the Easter festival is envisioned—at least not yet. The lunar year which governs the greater part of the Church Year from the period of Easter, with Septuagesima, Reminiscere, Easter, Cantate, Trinity, etc., always falling near a full moon, will continue to determine the Christian calendar of festivals. As hitherto, the number of Sundays after Epiphany and Trinity will continue to differ from year to year. The earliest date possible for Easter according to the UN calendar is March 24 (it is March 22 now); the latest possible date would be April 22 (instead of April 25 by our present calendar). The number of Sundays after Epiphany would vary between 2 and 6 (instead of the present 1 to 6); those after Trinity between 23 and 27 (rather than 22 to 27 as at present). Christmas will always fall on a Monday, Boxing Day (second Christmas Day) on a Tuesday. This places Christmas Eve on a Sunday, the Fourth Sunday in Advent, a notoriously most unsatisfactory arrangement for the church. The Sunday after Christmas and the Sunday after New Year with their pericopes will disappear entirely. Of the minor festivals, only the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24)

will fall on a Sunday. All the other days will forever come in the week. Reformation Day is a Tuesday. No changes in the church calendar would be required by this regulation. We should merely have to see whether the valuable pericopes of at least the first Sunday after Christmas ought not to be placed elsewhere. Seen from the point of view of the church year, the new arrangement of the calendar is certainly not favorable but the objections seem insufficient to reject calendar reform. Mankind will even get used to the fact that calendar days will fall on the same weekdays year after year.

c) Unquestionably the most difficult problem is raised by the interruption of the rhythm of weeks by the "World Day". It must certainly be assumed that at least the orthodox Jews, but also some of the Christian denominations will retain the hitherto firmly established 7-day cycle of the week. Thus calendar reform would not bring about uniformity but, rather, create new difficulties. For numerous reasons the Christian church in general would regard any interpolation in the succession of seven-day weeks as, at the very least, highly dubious.

On the other hand we may ask whether some other way may not lead to a solution which would assure the advantages of the proposed calendar reform while at the same time maintaining the 7-day week in its continuous order. Such a solution is only possible by abandoning the year of 365 days with interspersed leapyears of 366 days permanently established since Julius Caesar and arranging a basic year of 52 weeks with 364 days. The necessary leapyears would then not have a leapday but a leapweek. They would therefore comprise 53 weeks and 371 days. Such leapyears would have to occur 71 times every 400 years. They might be distributed as follows: a leapyear (with a leapweek) would occur every 5 years, that is in all the years whose numbers end in 0 or 5. In the year of a full century (2000, 2100, etc.) and half-century (2050, 2150, etc.) the leapweek would not occur. In addition, one other leapweek would have to be dropped every 400 years, to be placed as desired. The distortions of the calendar year produced by such a system of intercalation would never amount to more than a few days compared to the year of 365 days 5 hours and 48³/₄ minutes and carry little weight

even in regard to the solstices or the equinoxes. (There are, of course, other possibilities of arranging the leapyear.) The leap-week would most appropriately be inserted at mid-year, that is, added to the month of June which would therefore have 37 days instead of 30 every 5 years. Such an arrangement would maintain all the advantages of the proposed calendar reform without disturbing the rhythm of the 7-day week. It should not remain unnoticed that this arrangement approximates pretty well the arrangement currently used by the Christian church in her Church Year: the Church Year from the First Sunday in Advent to the First Sunday in Advent comprises 52 weeks = 364 (not 365!) days. Whenever the First Sunday in Advent falls on November 27 (or on November 28 in a leapyear) the church year has 53 weeks (= 371 days). Here, too, the balance is effected not by leapdays but by leapweeks, with a 7-day week thus strictly maintained. The relationship between year, month, and week which this provides must be regarded as the best possible. The crucial point is the fact that in any such calendar reform the year will always consist of *entire* weeks (52 or 53).

Christhard Mahrenholz

Adiaphoron-Symbolon:

A Dogmatic Gloss on the Proposed Calendar Reform

The preceding discussion has familiarized us with the material relating to the proposed calendar reform. What are we to say to this? Can we say anything to it as a *church*? As a church, can we say anything *binding*?

I.

We could easily take a stand regarding the proposed calendar reform simply from secular, social, and cultural points of view. It is certainly a sign of the progressive rationalization of modern life. In the current case, however, rationalization strikes us at a highly sensitive spot, for it concerns the measurable time structure of our week and of our festivals.

It is true that any calendar as such implies a certain rationalization of our daily

time. We can hardly do without such rationalization. The calendar is a means towards our mutual intercourse, it is a means of communication, comparable to linear measures, weights, and currencies. What is peculiar to the calendar as a means to mutual intercourse is that it helps to make tangible, computable, datable, and thus socially practicable, such a basic and mysterious phenomenon of our existence as the course of our days and nights.

No human society that has a history can exist without a calendar. A herd of deer has no need of one. A group of primitive hunters will make do with a few rough marks of time supplied directly by nature itself. Such hunters do not require a calendric division of their time. But one can hardly imagine any state-like structure—however far back it may reach into antiquity—which does have some system of counting years, and therefore a calendar in some form at its disposal. The calendar mirrors something of the historicity of our existence. By posing the historicity of our existence against the natural background of the stars' orbits to order it rationally with regard to its course in time, we create the calendar. It may thus be well worth our while to ponder this structure of our existence and its shape. We are all directly aware of the fact that the increasing rationalization of modern life frequently involves serious ethical problems. At first glance that does not seem to apply in the case of the proposed calendar reform. What does it matter if it will introduce a certain stereotyped monotony into the relationship of calendar days to the days of the week, compared to the advantages which the advocated reform of the calendar will bring to commercial life and its statistics? What will it matter if certain days of remembrance which are tied to a specific calendar date, such as my birthday or Christmas, will continuously fall on the same week day? And yet we should not take lightly this progressive rationalization of our existence.

We do not hold that every rationalization in the life of society is necessarily evil. But the tendency to type and rationalize not only writing paper, machine parts, building design, and processes of labor, but to force even us human beings into a structure of space and time which is subjected to a norm in its last detail—such a tendency is undoubtedly dangerous, Supposing that in the

distant or near future a city planner developed the idea to build a modern city after the model of a bee hive as a single giant apartment building, we should have to turn in horror from such a project. Any such plan would be an attack on what is human in our bodily and spiritual existence which could not be taken seriously enough. But the protection of what is human has been entrusted in no small measure to the church. The church is certainly not released from her responsibility where things human and cultural are at stake. She ought to raise her voice as a *church* and for the sake of the Creator and His gifts protect what is human in the face of any rationalization of our temporal abodes such as we have painted on the wall in the specter of the projected bee hive.

To be sure, the proposed calendar reform is still far removed from any such radical rationalization of our measurable time structure as is represented in this phantastic futuristic dream of the rationalization of our living quarters. The computable time of our days and nights will never be subject to an inflexible norm such as one can imagine for the spatial design of man's home. The earth's revolution about the sun will never be smoothly divisible into a cardinal number of days and nights. This fact sets a natural limit to every attempt to rationalize our calendar time as far as is possible. However, the proposed calendar reform does represent an imposing effort to approximate the ideal of a uniform division of time within this limit.

Are we to put our stamp of approval on this course of action? Are we to grant man the right to take one day in every normal calendar year, two in every leap year, out of the succession of the numbered days of the months, indeed to take these days out of the pattern of days of the week and to regard them as practically non-existent days? If we human beings condition ourselves to such an attitude to our calendar time, will we not then easily arrogate to ourselves the right to dispose of other relationships—even to the artificial production of a human birth? Could not this proposed calendar reform constitute the very increase in the rationalization of our existence which, insignificant as it appears at first glance, might be the turning point towards a future development in which

rationalization invades the very substance of what makes us human?

Such considerations are not, however, sufficient to provide us with a binding decision on calendar reform. The church's decision to approve or to reject it will be taken on different grounds. But these thoughts may still carry weight as a simple prior consideration. For in its general judgment, the church, too, should not ignore what is symptomatic in the proposed calendar reform, the spirit from which it was born, its possible effects on man's sensitivity to life, and its contribution to a possible future rationalization of our lives which would corrode whatever makes us human.

II.

The actual dogmatic issues of our problem are raised by the destruction of the week involved in the proposed calendar reform. For we must be fully aware of the fact that the reform as projected does destroy the week. It simply cannot be argued that in a normal calendar year the week would be maintained intact in 51 cases (from January 1 to December 24 in the reform plan before the UN, from January 7 to December 31 in the German modification of this plan). Only one single week in the year would be somewhat extended by one intercalary day in the course of such a normal year (the week of December 24 to January 1 in the UN plan, of December 31 to January 7 in its German modification). For against this argument it must be maintained that we have destroyed the week as such if we disrupt the weekly scheme at even one point in the course of the year. By this one interpolation the whole chain of the weeks will be altered. All the weeks subsequent to such an extended "week" are weeks out of line by one day. This disalignment will increase annually. To abandon the seven-day week as a principle in the division of time, will effect the basic destruction of the week as such.

The effects that this process may have on our sensitivity to time and life are incalculable. They will be complicated and accentuated by the fact that the six-day work week is losing ground in any case. Could not an economic system intent on exhausting all the possibilities of rationalization create a new relationship between

working days and days of rest according to a rhythm far different from the one we are accustomed to on the basis of our structure of weeks? Could we not evolve a system progressively overlapping this rhythm, since we have already broken the weekly pattern in principle? Could we not come to the point where the rhythm between working day and day of rest will no longer be observed uniformly and simultaneously by all a country's inhabitants? Could not a fully rationalized economy reach the stage where every 6th or 5th or 4th person has different days of rest? As you know, such ideas are no longer mere theory. We might ask whether the destruction of the week incorporated in the planned calendar reform will not encourage such tendencies and indirectly contribute to the loss to mankind of the day of rest which, minor exceptions apart, is observed by everyone together.

The church will have to be extremely alert at this point. Christians living in one community must have the opportunity to gather at regular intervals for *common* worship. The local *ecclesia*, too, is a whole, and it must visibly testify to this wholeness in its regular assembly. But a common day of rest free of work best serves this divinely ordained necessity to gather as an *ecclesia* about Word and Sacrament. This is what Luther enjoined upon us in his explanation of the Third Commandment, where he writes in the Large Catechism: "Note that we keep holy days . . . most especially that on such day of rest (since we can get no other opportunity) freedom and time be taken to attend divine service, so that we come together to hear and treat of God's Word, and then to praise God, to sing and pray." Our present weekly pattern assures the overwhelming majority of the members of our congregations of this common day of rest ordained for participation in worshipful assembly.

It is true that the proposed calendar reform will by no means necessarily lead to the abolition of the common day of rest. "Sunday"—apparently—is maintained. But the week itself has been violated in principle. This means a switch has been thrown which will shunt us away from the track of the ancient seven-day rhythm of the week, at first ever so slightly. But what may become of this small deviation in the course of time? If calendar reform shifts a point

in such a manner that we depart from the seven-day week in principle, then the new track may very soon carry us to where we shall have lost the common day of rest which is to bring the congregation as a whole together for divine service. Allowing this switch-box to be operated would seem to call for the utmost caution.

Of course, even if no common day of rest were to be guaranteed, the church would still have to gather the local congregations as a whole to regular worship services, even if this would have to be in the early hours of the morning prior to the beginning of work, as we assume happened in the church of the apostolic and post-apostolic age. But it is evident how much more difficult such an arrangement would make the meetings of local congregations. The church can therefore not agree to any even minor shifting of points in the calendar system which might jeopardize the Christians' common day of rest.

III.

So far we have mentioned only the *possible* effects of calendar reform. The advocates of this reform might charge us with seeing ghosts and maintain that warnings about what are simply possible developments said to be encouraged by calendar reform cannot be used for serious argument about the merit or demerit of such reform. Let us therefore in the following keep exclusively to the undeniable facts which will be created by carrying out this calendar reform.

We gather from Acts 20:7, I Cor. 16:2, and Rev. 1:10 that the first day of the Jewish week very early became a special day apart for the Gentile Christian congregations. Towards the end of the first century this day, with its Christian name of "the Lord's Day" was determined as the day when the local *ecclesia* would congregate to celebrate the Eucharist.¹ With the Apostolic Fathers we very soon encounter reflections on the fact that the day marked for divine service is no longer the seventh day of the Jewish week, but the next day, the "eighth" day of the end of time, the day which brought forth the new aeon in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Day of

¹ cf. Gerhard Kunze, "Die gottesdienstliche Zeit" [The hour of worship] in *Leiturgia* I, 1954, pp. 443f.

the Lord. Already Ignatius of Antioch, the author of the epistle of Barnabas, Justin Martyr, and others pointed out the symbolical nature of this choice of day along this line.

Any theological reflection about Sunday, indeed, will have to take Scripture texts such as we find at the beginning of the Evangelists' chapters on Easter as their basis. Let Matth. 28:1 serve as an example: "Now after the sabbath, toward the dawn of the first day of the week . . ." We cannot be sure on what day of the Jewish calendar Jesus died on the cross, whether on the 15th day of Nisan, the first day of the Passover, as reported by the Synoptics, or the preceding day as the Gospel of St. John assumes. But all New Testament witnesses agree that Jesus was executed on the sixth day of the Jewish week, and that He was raised from the dead and appeared to His disciples on the first day of the week immediately following, that is on the "third day" according to the then pertaining method of counting. It pleased God to perform His great deeds in which our salvation is founded within the framework of a Jewish week. This circumstance is part of the incarnation of the eternal Word. By God's decree that third day which has been adopted into our creed in accordance with I Cor. 15:4 was the first day of a Jewish week. Whenever we confess our faith during divine service on a Sunday we should remember that that third day is the equivalent of this particular day of the week precisely because it is the day of the Lord's resurrection. The weekly commemoration of the resurrection, our Sunday, the day following the synagogue's sabbath, is the cornerstone of the order in which the church observes the days she has set aside for divine service.

Let us now look at the proposed scheme of the calendar before the UN. According to this calendar we should observe the 4th Sunday in Advent annually on December 24. Let us not here discuss how this day's vesper services will allow the main service of the 4th of Advent to be stunted and neglected. Let us turn our attention exclusively to the question of when the next Lord's Day will be on which the congregation gathers for divine service in the succession of Lord's Days. According to the calendar proposed in the UN this would be the "World Day" which carries no date and is not marked as a day of the week. Now

the church would surely be free to call together the congregation on this day for morning worship as if it were a Lord's Day even though the name "Sunday" is not found on the calendar. But then the UN calendar demands that the day immediately following be regarded as a Sunday and that this Sunday which falls entirely outside the pattern hitherto preserved with its established seven-day intervals should start a new chain of Sundays with the usual time-lag between them, until the next interruption occurs. In a leap year this would be on the Sunday following June 24, in a normal year the Sunday following December 24. It is evident that the Sunday which follows upon the UN calendar's "World Day" and which bears the date of January 1 is no longer the symbolic commemoration of the Lord's resurrection. It is no longer that "third" day. Between the previous Friday and this artificial "Sunday" with the date of January 1, we find not only the synagogue's sabbath but also this "World Day" inserted against every rule.

The whole chain of Sundays following this January 1 is subject to the derangement which is repeated at every interpolation of a "World Day".

The ingenious modification of the UN proposal which has recently been made in Germany merely postpones the difficulty we are discussing by one week. According to this German suggestion we would, indeed, be able to celebrate December 31 as a regular Sunday after Christmas at the correct interval from the preceding Sunday, the 4th in Advent. But what about the following Sunday which in this scheme would bear the date of January 7? Between it and the preceding Sunday we should not have 6 days as demanded by the rule of the week, but seven full days because the "World New Year's Day" which bears no monthly date and stands outside the days of the week, was intercalated between December 31 (Sunday) and January 1 (Monday). This makes of January 7 an artificially produced Sunday which has lost its symbolic character as the "third day", the day following the Jewish sabbath, just as have all subsequent Sundays that follow in the newly beginning chain of Sundays.

Only in passing let it be noted that according to the German suggestion the "World New Year's Day" could, indeed, be observed as the Feast of the Circumcision and the

Name of Jesus, but that January 1 would be entirely bare of the memory of the name of Jesus and, as a working day, would have to forego an assembly of the whole congregation in divine service.

IV.

Now one might very well ask whether it is not precisely the Evangelical Lutheran church which should warmly welcome the proposed calendar reform. For does not this reform provide the final separation from the Jewish week and thus the extirpation of a last remnant which recalls the old leaven of Jewish legalism? Does not the proposed calendar reform present the church with a unique opportunity to prove the freedom to which Christ has liberated her?

The church can, in fact, never argue this matter in the same way in which the Orthodox synagogue will have to do on the basis of its presuppositions. Much less can the church seek to defend her Lord's Day in the same manner as Seventh-Day Adventists defend their sabbath. This would be a truly heretical relapse into the ritualism of the Jewish Torah. Freedom from the Law is valid! The apostolic admonition in Col. 2:16 belongs to the foundations of our Reformation creed. There the Apostle writes: "Therefore let no one pass judgment on you in questions of food and drink or with regard to a festival or a new moon or a sabbath." Our church's confessional writings repeatedly cite this Scripture passage in their battle against the Papist understanding of human regulations: CA XXVI; XXVIII; Apol. VII; XV; XXVII; FC SD X. In the Large Catechism, Luther very clearly drew the necessary consequences for the understanding of the Christian observance of Sunday in interpreting the third commandment. He writes about the Old Testament ordinance of the sabbath: "This commandment, therefore, according to its gross sense, does not concern us Christians; for it is altogether an external matter, like other ordinances of the Old Testament which were attached to particular customs, persons, times, and places, and now have been made free through Christ." Moreover, according to Luther's interpretation of the commandment to keep the sabbath holy, we must by no means put a legalistic interpretation upon the tradition-based order to

maintain Sunday as a day of rest and therefore also as the day of the congregation's assembling for divine worship. Let us listen once again to the Large Catechism: "However this (namely, to attend divine service of a Sunday) is not so restricted to any time, as with the Jews, that it must be just this or that day; for in itself no one day is better than another; but this should indeed be done daily."

Thus the demand to maintain the succession of Sundays without break within the framework of the pattern of the week can certainly not be made by the church with the weight of an absolute dogmatic necessity. The ordering of the Church Year has, rather, been placed entirely under the freedom of the believers. Our faith and salvation is not affected should more than six full days occur at any time between two calendar Sundays. Viewed from the aspect of dogmatics, the whole question at what intervals of time the local *ecclesia* is to gather to celebrate the Eucharist is indeed an *adiaphoron*. The church has the power and the freedom to make use of whatever opportunities are provided by the civil calendar in this matter.

But that is not all the church can say on the question of calendar reform. If the church is asked which civil calendar she on her part desires, she cannot simply answer that she has no preferences in this respect. By the recognition that some matter is an *adiaphoron* from a dogmatic point of view, it is by no means freed from all ethical reflection. When we characterize the order of the Church Year as an *adiaphoron* in our confession, we assert that it is of no consequence to our salvation how we order the succession of parochial worship services. But we do not say that it is therefore a matter of indifference how we order the sequence. On the contrary, precisely because of the freedom she enjoys, the church is faced with the task to arrange her entire order of service, including the order of the "Church Year", in such a manner that these orders can best serve her proclamation. The questions which the church must ask at this point may run something like this: What structure of these orders is most appropriate to the nature and the task of the church? Which order best serves the building of the congregation? What arrangement can best be counted as a symbolic directive to the heart of the matter with which the

church is concerned? By what arrangement can the *adiaphoron* become a *symbolon*?

The church's confessions are by no means unfamiliar with these questions. Apol. VII contains an important statement on the function of the Church Year which we want to quote in its full context, because of its significance. The Roman adversaries to our confession had pointed to the presumably apostolic origin of many generally accepted ecumenical practices of the church, in order to argue the dogmatic necessity for their absolute observance with the help of the apostolic origin of such ceremonies and orders. In the face of this the Apology of our Confession declares in the place cited: "Non voluerunt apostoli tale onus imponere conscientiis, non voluerunt iustitiam et peccatum collocare in observationibus dierum, ciborum et similium rerum. Imo Paulus appellat huiusmodi opiniones doctrinas daemoniorum. Itaque voluntas et consilium apostolorum ex scriptis eorum quaeri debet, non est satis allegare exemplum. Servabant certos dies, non quod ea observatio ad justificationem necessaria esset, sed ut populus sciret, quo tempore conveniendum esset. Servabant et alios quosdam ritus, ordinem lectionum, si quando conveniebant. Quaedam etiam ex patriis moribus, ut fit, retinebat populus, quae apostoli nonnihil mutata ad historiam evangelii accommodaverunt, ut pascha, pentecosten, ut non solum docendo, sed etiam per haec exempla memoriam maximarum rerum traderent posteris.—The apostles did not wish to impose such a burden upon consciences; they did not wish to place righteousness and sin in the observance of days, food, and the like. Yea, Paul calls such opinions "doctrines of devils" [I Tim. 4:1]. Therefore the will and advice of the apostles ought to be derived from their writings; it is not enough to mention their example. They observed certain days, not because this observance was necessary for justification, but in order that the people might know at what time they should assemble. They observed also certain other rites and orders of lessons whenever they assembled. The people retained also from the customs of the fathers, as is commonly the case, certain things which, being somewhat changed, the Apostles adapted to the history of the Gospel, as the Passover, Pentecost, so that not only by teaching, but also through these examples

they might hand down to posterity the memory of the most important subjects."

Here the rejection of a legalistic understanding of the Church Year is most effectively combined with the acceptance of its symbolic proclamatory character. Just as we need the civil calendar as a means for daily communication, so the church requires her own peculiar calendar as a permanent convention on the times to assemble for divine worship (*ut populus sciret, quo tempore conveniendum esset*). Such a convention, which is entirely a matter of Christian freedom, should however be of such a nature that the order which it determines should serve the commemoration of the mighty deeds of God (*memoriam maximarum rerum tradere posteris*). To this end the Apostles, according to our text, adapted practices which derived from the Jewish festival calendar to the message of the Gospels (*ad historiam evangelii accommodaverunt*). Easter and Pentecost are cited as examples. Melancthon might with better justification have referred to the Jewish week and the postponement of the day set aside for worship services from sabbath to the first day of the week (*nonnihil mutata!*).

The memory of the deeds of salvation is maintained not only by doctrines (*docendo*) but also and especially by such church practice (*exempla*). According to these statements of our Apology, the Church Year, by its very structure is to serve as a living monument of the saving deed of Christ, but the building stones of this monument must necessarily recall the Jewish calendar in part. For it has pleased God to allow the cross of Christ, His resurrection and the pouring out of the Holy Spirit to occur within the framework of this calendar. The Jewish calendar is not incorporated into the Church Year without change. True, the building stones of the Christian Church Year are in part broken from the Jewish calendar, but they are hewn and moulded as they are incorporated into the monument of the Christian Church Year. We can see an example of this in the celebration of Easter and the observance of Sunday. It is obvious how these statements of the Apology can, in their basic content, be applied almost line by line to our inquiry into the symbolic character of the Lord's Day and its introduction into a week derived from Judaism.

Apol. XV points in the same direction: "Nam sancti patres, etsi habuerunt et ipsi

ritus et traditiones, tamen non sentiebant has res utiles aut necessarias esse ad iustificationem, non obscurabant gloriam et officium Christi, sed docebant nos iustificari fide propter Christum, non propter illos humanos cultus. Ceterum ritus humanos observabant propter utilitatem corporalem, ut sciret populus, quo tempore conveniendum esset, ut ordine et graviter in templis exempli causa fierent omnia, denique ut vulgus etiam haberet quandam paedagogiam. Nam discrimina temporum et varietas rituum valet ad admonendum vulgus. — For although the holy fathers themselves had both rights and traditions, yet they did not hold that these matters are useful or necessary for justification; they did not obscure the glory and office of Christ, but taught that we are justified by faith for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of these human services. But they observed human rights for the sake of bodily advantage, that the people might know at what time they should assemble; that, for the sake of example, all things in the churches might be done in order and becomingly; lastly, that the common people might receive a sort of training. For the distinctions of times and the varieties of rights are of service in admonishing the common people."

What is here referred to as the training of the Church Year again clearly shows how the succession of days set apart for divine worship bears the character of symbolic instruction, indeed the character of true *anamnesis*. We are nowadays on the point of recognizing the significance of the weekly *anamnesis* of Christ's resurrection more clearly than have earlier generations. May we then, considering the situation, agree to the destruction of the living monument to the fundamental fact of salvation in our faith? We would surely all protest most energetically if any government should decide to strike Christmas from the calendar. However bad the secularization of this festival may have become in our days, its function as a reminder and a symbol of the birth of our Saviour, on the other hand, remains invaluable. Any attempt to "abolish" Christmas, will turn Christendom into a "status confessionis". The destruction of the resurrection day that follows the Jewish sabbath, the attack on *μία τῶν σαββάτων*, as provided by the proposed calendar reform of the UN is

less of a slap to Christian consciousness than would be the abolition of Christmas. This assault upon the proclamatory symbol of the weekly commemoration of the resurrection of Christ is less obvious and probably less conscious. It is not unequivocal. It looks so harmless and unimportant. But is it any less dangerous because of that? Is it not perhaps the crucial attack upon the heart of the Christian Church Year, precisely because of its apparent innocuousness and thus upon the most important symbol of commemoration which the church has erected to the resurrection of Christ since her beginning?

If the church is asked whether she be willing to let this symbol of commemoration be destroyed by the proposed calendar reform she may only answer: No! She will not die should her "no" be of no avail. But she cannot and may not herself remove a symbol that is proclamation. What is true of the apostolic church must also apply to the church of our day and especially to the church of the Lutheran Reformation: The church is to pass on to succeeding generations the knowledge of Christ and the vast treasure of the Gospel not only by doctrines but also by such festivals of the history of Jesus Christ as the first day of the seven-day week. *Ecclesia non solum docendo, sed etiam per haec exempla memoriam maximarum rerum tradit posteris.*

Peter Brunner

The New Lutheran Encyclopedia

At its second assembly, in Hannover 1952, the Lutheran World Federation adopted a resolution "to undertake the production of a manuscript of a Lutheran World Encyclopedia that shall be an international work of reference describing Lutheran interests, doctrine and action" and instructed the Executive Committee to devise ways and means and to determine the details of producing this Encyclopedia (see Official Minutes, p. 21). On September 1, 1954, the undersigned was appointed as editor; since that time he has devoted most of his spare time to this project. The first task was to determine the contents of the Encyclopedia and to apportion the specified number of available words (about 2,000,000) to the various sections

and articles. In order to do this it was necessary first of all to set up a systematic index of topics. After many revisions, he has now arrived at an index which seems to be reasonably comprehensive and complete.

But before proceeding any further it may be advisable to state quite clearly what the Encyclopedia, in the editor's judgment, is *not* designed to be. It is not in any sense a universal encyclopedia of religious information; it does not compete with such encyclopedias as *Schaff-Herzog* or the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* or *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*; it does not aim to present information which inquirers may justly expect to find in general encyclopedias. Our Encyclopedia is strictly confined to Lutheranism; it touches non-Lutheran personalities or subjects only where there has been, or is, contact or mutual influence or some kind of relationship. Subjects for which one would look in textbooks of church history, patristics, liturgics, dogmatics, ethics, and so on, are treated in our Encyclopedia only if there exist definitely Lutheran aspects or if they are necessary in order that inquirers may properly understand the Lutheran position.

Nor is it designed to be a dictionary of theological terms or "Lutheran" interpretations of such terms. While there will be an occasional brief article, perhaps resembling a dictionary or lexicon type of definition, the vast majority of the articles will be in the nature of essays or systematic presentations. For instance, a person desiring information on the Lutheran church in India will find a comprehensive article of perhaps 3 to 4000 words, with many cross-references to articles on the several parts of India, the various Lutheran churches now existing in India, the European or American churches which have done mission work in India, also to articles on the indigenous religions of India and the specific problems facing Christianity in India such as nationalism or the caste system. The inquirer will select those materials in which he may be interested and will find, we hope, not merely lexicon-like bits of information but a thorough, authentic, unbiased account. Bibliographical statements will indicate where more detailed information is found.

Nor is our Encyclopedia intended to be "the voice of the Lutheran World Federation" on doctrinal, ethical, liturgical, educational etc. problems. The editor knows very well

that—while there are certain positions or viewpoints which may be labeled as definitely Lutheran—there are many points on which there is not, and probably ought not to be, agreement or uniformity. It will be his aim to have all shades of Lutheran opinion set forth on such topics. The Encyclopedia will not attempt to persuade anyone; it has no missionary or polemical purpose but merely seeks to give information. The views expressed in the Encyclopedia will not necessarily be those of the editor or of the President of the Lutheran World Federation or its Executive Committee, but those of the writers whose names appear at the end of their contributions. The editor will take care that on controversial matters all viewpoints are properly presented. Incidentally, at the present moment it seems to him that there will be relatively few articles of controversial nature; at any rate, the information presented will be factual.

Again, the Encyclopedia will not be a one-sidedly American or one-sidedly German or any other one-sidedly national, but "international" work, in accordance with the 1952 resolution of the Lutheran World Federation. Doubtless the Lutheran church is the most international Protestant church, and it is one of the aims of the editor to present in some adequate manner the great riches of Lutheranism, the numerous varieties of its worship services and the various types of Lutheran church organization, inner missions, social service, foreign missionary endeavors, also the different solutions of burning problems found or proposed in various continents and countries. The Encyclopedia will be international also in the sense that the contributors are international. Articles will be written by members of our church in all countries and continents, by members of old established territorial churches and of "free" churches and of "young" churches, by members of every race and by adherents of all political viewpoints.

This international feature presents some additional problems, of course. In some respects it would be simpler to set a group of American or German or Scandinavian scholars to work at such a project; but the editor believes that the Encyclopedia ought to give opportunity to Lutherans from every part of the world to present their viewpoints and problems and to state in their own

words how they interpret their tasks as a church in their peculiar situation today. Obviously much translation work will be necessary in order to present all these statements in English (and German); but the editor believes that it is worth while and that the Lutherans of the world want this kind of international information.

The editor believes he is correct in assuming that the Lutheran World Federation desires the publication of a standard book of information on the Lutheran church for the use of the general public. It does not have professors and other theological experts in mind as potential users, but students and other persons who consult a librarian in a public library with reference to, say, a certain doctrine held by Lutherans, or the kind of church services conducted by Lutherans, or the ideas of Lutherans on church polity, or the attitude of Lutherans on the problem of race or on the labor question or on women preachers, and so on. The Encyclopedia will seek to give a succinct and clear and yet comprehensive answer to the inquiring person; it will, of course, seek to give as complete an answer as is possible, but it will not wish to replace the special books in any of the areas of Lutheran thought and action or to give new and startling disclosures on moot subjects or to overwhelm the plain citizen—who may know nothing about Lutheranism or the Lutheran church—with a suffocating multiplicity of detail. The Encyclopedia will be a reference book for libraries, schools and churches, and for pastors and students; it would like to become an indispensable source of information for all those who want to know what the Lutheran church is and thinks and does.

The editor believes that this thinking is in line with the resolution authorizing the production of a manuscript of an international Lutheran Encyclopedia inasmuch as the resolution itself specifies that the Encyclopedia should have, in general, the following contents: "Theology, history and biography, polity, liturgics and church art, work, relationships, church life" (Minutes, p. 21). In determining the contents of the Encyclopedia and the relative proportion of the subjects (number of words) the editor arrived at a list of sections which the reader may find indicative of the scope of the work. In the following list, the first number after the name of the section indicates the probable number of articles projected and the

second, the approximate number of words to be assigned to the section.

1. The Bible	25	40,000
2. Dogmatics	150	125,000
3. Ethics	200	180,000
4. Philosophy	100	40,000
5. Church History to 1517	100	130,000
6. Church History to 1648	200	160,000
7. Church History since 1648	70	70,000
8. Lutheran Churches in Europe	100	150,000
9. Lutheran Churches in America	100	150,000
10. Young Churches (and World Missions)	80	130,000
11. Non-Christian Religions	35	35,000
12. Lutheran Polity	80	70,000
13. Christian Education	110	120,000
14. Education for the Ministry	20	60,000
15. Worship (incl. Church Architecture; Church Year etc.; Church Services; Church Art)	225	130,000
16. Music and Hymnody	70	80,000
17. Preaching	20	35,000
18. Church Life (Local Congregation)	32	50,000
19. Christian Social Work ("Innere Mission")	32	50,000
20. Special Missions	10	15,000
21. Publications and Press	30	40,000
22. Ecumenical Relations	25	40,000
23. Biographical	(? 500)	
24. Geographical	(? 200)	
25. Statistical	(?)	

When working out the systematic list of topics, the editor sought the advice of numerous American and European scholars, both with reference to the subjects to be treated and with reference to possible contributors. It is quite clear to the editor that every contributor will have to be told very precisely what his particular article is to present, and what phases he is to stress or to omit; what cross-references there will be to his article and where he is to refer to articles on related subjects; moreover, all articles will have to be checked by a number of authorities in the Lutheran world with reference to correctness or completeness or factualness in order to assure the maximum degree of reliability and comprehensiveness. All this will require time and effort; but the editor believes that Lutheran World Federation wants to issue an Encyclopedia that is as nearly perfect as human minds and hands can make it.

Because of his duties as full-time professor of theology, the editor can devote only such bits of time and energy to the Encyclopedia as are left after his other duties are completed. The project, if full time could be spent on it, might be completed within three or four years; as it is, it will require at least seven or eight years to finish it. The Executive Committee understands the situation and does not expect the impossible.

Nevertheless, according to present plans the editor will have a complete list of topics ready by June 1956. By the end of the year 1956 he should have in hand a considerable number of favorable replies from contributors.

J. Bodensieck

Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon

[*Evangelical church lexicon*] Ed. by Heinz Brunotte and Otto Weber. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht.

This new "handbook for church and theology" is appearing in about 35 issues, 128 columns to each, and has reached to date the seventh issue, up to the article "Deutschland". The co-editors for the individual areas of church life and theology are: Robert Frick, Hans Heinrich Harms, Wilfried Joest, Herman Noack, Kurt-Dietrich Schmidt, George F. Vicedom, Heinz-Dietrich Wendland and Hans-Walter Wolff. The first bound volume will probably appear in the summer of 1956.

The purpose of this new church encyclopedia is primarily to give information on the church of the present in the broadest sense. It is concerned to be based firmly in theology and to be clear, precise, and relevant, open to the church as it is in the world, and have a clearcut method. In this point it is expressly not just for pastors and theologians but for all church workers and all members of the church who need and wish to have relevantly based information in concise form. There are many such persons but only a very few of them can buy or use a large lexicon on theology and the science of religion like the *Realencyklopaedie* or *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. The fact that the new handbook is aimed at the present, at questions of the ecumenical movement, of the recent church struggle, at the tasks

and problems of world missions, or the relationship of church and world today, also demands, of course, an historical orientation that is clear, summary and selective of what is decisive, as for example in the articles on Christianity, christology, or Germany, in the last double issue.

In addition to well-known theologians and prominent experts who have placed themselves at the disposal of the *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* (and to whom our thanks are due), we have especially tried to bring into the work the younger generation in the church and in theology. With the help of the bibliography at the end of each article, which has been especially stressed, (if possible taking into account foreign literature), every reader can supplement and deepen the information given him. Difficult and critical questions are not avoided or obscured, the standpoint of the individual authors can be seen and where it appears especially necessary it is supplemented by an account by another, so that Lutheran and Reformed points of view, for example on the concept of the church, appear side by side to encourage the reader to form his own opinion.

Our concern is to supply in concise clear form what every person needs — catechists, social workers, parish workers, members of the male diaconate, and the host of the many voluntary workers of the church and her institutions (the theologians are not excluded!) — a work that will prove itself useful and usable for the everyday work of all these servants of the church.

Heinz-Dietrich Wendland

Stewardship and Congregational Life

Preview of Oslo

The second meeting of the Commission for Stewardship and congregational life, April 9-13, 1956

This is not an official statement of the Commission, but it represents the observations and impressions of one of its members to whom the chairman, Dr. Clarence C. Stoughton, has given the task of following

the development in the different areas of the Commission's concern and in the individual member churches.

I

The field of the Commission was greatly broadened by the Executive Committee in 1952. It now embraces the following branches of the work of the congregation: Stewardship, evangelism, and work among men, women and youth. This reorientation aims at attempting to point out the inner unity of all these movements active in the congregation. The first meeting of the Commission after the Hannover Assembly took place in Kiel, Germany, in October 1954. It produced the first beginnings in this direction. These were theological questions like the meaning of the priesthood of all believers, the relationship of lay service in the church to the *ministerium verbum divini* and concerning the whole New Testament understanding of the church. The Commission delegated to individual groups the task of preparing reports for the approaching meeting at Oslo on the results of their study on these questions. And it will be concerned with the influence of contemporary theological writers on work among laymen. It only seems as if this complex of questions lies outside the practically aimed tasks of the Commission. According to the reports received so far such fundamental considerations lay a useful basis for discussion of the practical questions. There are indications that the Commission will turn to the extra-parochial concerns for the renewal of the church. The Commission will not want to take the concept "congregational life" in its name to mean merely the local congregation. The Commission would be the place in which to carry on an exchange concerning the manifold and multiform considerations and methods of evangelism and folk-mission to be found in the member churches. The fact that the program of the exchange of church workers of LWF World Service is to begin is significant in this connection, for it embraces the very area of work of the Commission. Because it can be made useful for this task, the Commission will begin thorough studies as to which areas in the individual churches deserve special interest and what churches are interested in them. This will be done in order to present a considered plan of

exchange free of contingencies. In this way the Commission will be co-operating with LWF World Service, as well as making an approach by its members to the individual National Committees as the place where the *total* exchange program is to be co-ordinated on the national level.

II

There were specific questions on the agenda at Kiel concerning individual areas of the Commission's concern, especially women's work, youth work and stewardship. Therefore at Oslo the women will be presenting a report on the problems of the family. Above all, however, concrete plans are already being sketched for women's and youth events in connection with the Minneapolis Assembly.

The representatives of women's work in the Commission have had opportunity to take preparatory measures in the US and Germany. There are two recognizable strands: first, the general theme is to be discussed in the individual organizations during the years 1956/7. The emphasis will be that the theme is not just to deal with theoretical theology, but personally concerns every Christian, every woman and every women's group. The American contribution especially appears to want to lay stress on the practical tasks which result from the basic statement of the theme. Second will be an attempt, through the preparations for Minneapolis, to get Lutheran women of different countries working together. An exchange program, a meeting of women assembly delegates with leading women of America before Minneapolis, a later general women's conference and regional meetings are proposals which are being made to reach this goal.

The Lutheran young people of the US and Canada have invited 60 to 75 young people to be representative of the youth of the member churches to come to America from June 15 to August 15, 1957. The guests are intended to participate first in the summer work of Lutheran young people. Then a large gathering is being planned near Minneapolis for bringing together the guests and hosts. The focal point of this conference will be a study of the Epistle to the Ephesians. The preparatory material has already been sent out to be worked over in the member churches. The young partici-

pants in the conference will be speaking there as representatives for many thousands of others with whom they will have considered many of the great central questions beforehand. The conclusion of the trip will be taking part in the sessions of the Assembly. The details of this plan will concern us in Oslo. Afterwards they will completely be discussed and explained by two representatives of American Lutheran youth work with the churches in 8 European countries.

Whether the other branches of the Commission will be carrying out similar events has not yet been decided. There will be the general desire to make use of the opportunity for intensive work offered by the larger gathering in Minneapolis.

The main subject of the Commission meeting in Oslo naturally will be the 1957 Assembly. Since it will be set up quite differently from Hannover and will have neither sections nor Commission meetings, the preparations for the Assembly take on special significance. We must listen to the general theme on freedom and unity in Christ for its significance for the folk-mission and evangelistic movement of the Church, especially in the area of lay co-operation. The theme is capable as no other

of keeping the persons in such service from superficiality, mere activity and organizing mania, but on the other hand of encouraging them to total surrender and joyous willingness to meet the demands of the proclamation of the Gospel in these times.

One of the most important tasks of Oslo will be to consider ways and means of expressing this message best and most effectively to those who ought to listen. If the study documents are sufficiently discussed in the member churches before Minneapolis, and if there is opportunity to evaluate this discussion, the Commission will be able in a high degree pertinently and legitimately to speak at the Assembly for those branches of work represented by it.

The view from Oslo embraces also the time from 1957 to 1963, for which period the aims and purposes are to be set at Minneapolis. The members of the Commission are of the opinion that everything should be done to fortify co-operation and give it good order. This is true of the co-operation within the commission as well as of the contribution of the commission to the work of the Federation and to the solution of the many tasks given us in the congregation and in the ecumenical world.

Herbert Reich

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

The Netherlands

The New Hymnal and Liturgy

A new Lutheran hymnal, the *Gezangboek der Evangelisch-Lutherse Kerk*, was introduced and used for the first time during a service in the "Ronde Lutherse Kerk" in Amsterdam on September 25, 1955. At the same service the new Lutheran liturgy approved by the synod was celebrated for the first time. That both of these significant events took place during the first International Conference on "Lutheran Church Music" characterizes the connection liturgical development in Holland has with that of European Lutheranism in general, a fact which hereby came to ecumenical expression.

The newly prepared hymnal is the result of reflection on Reformation theology which has been decisive for Holland in the last decades, not just on the academic level, but thoroughly noticeable also in the self-consciousness of the church. However, it is especially evident in the Netherlands that theologians have taken part in a prominent way in the preparation of the hymnal and the liturgy (Prof. Boendermaker, Kooiman, Mönnich). The report of the liturgical commission (Chairman, Dr. H. J. Jaanus), states that the hymnal has grown out of the new post-war climate in church life and out of the theological research connected with the new liturgy. Other impulses came from the underlying confessional reorientation which has given new character to liturgical matters in Lutheranism. Finally the rediscovery of church music should be mentioned which is also visible in the Netherlands and which had been fructified by the movements in church music in Germany. High merit in this regard has been won by the "Werkgroep voor Kerkmuzik" (Study commission on church music, chairman: Cantor Willem Mudde, Utrecht).

Until now the Lutheran church of Holland has had no common or official hymnal. The synod of the "Evangelisch-Lutherse Kerk" published, it is true, a hymnal in 1827 which was expanded in 1850 and widely used for a considerable time. But it betrayed rationalistic, liberal, and anti-dogmatic influences

and contained only weakened Lutheran material. In addition, the "Hersteld Lutherse Kerk" (Restored Lutheran Church), now united with the "Evangelisch-Lutherse Kerk", published a hymnal orthodox in content but musically under Calvinistic influence. In 1884 there appeared a new hymnal from anti-liberal circles in both churches which had formed a "Nederlands Luthersch Genootschap voor in- en uitwendige zending" [Netherlands Lutheran Association for Inner and Foreign Missions]. This small hymnal, with approximately 100 Lutheran hymns in original rhythmic form, in many respects the pioneer of the new hymnal, parallels exactly the corresponding German hymnal, the *Eisenacher Stamm* of 1854. However, the Lutheran congregations did not then have the courage to continue in this direction and only twelve years ago the liberal group of the church in Holland published a hymnal still used today but which cannot be said to be Lutheran at all. About 1935 there was a movement in favor of revision of the hymnal of 1884 and a revision commission was set to work. However, its work was disrupted by the war. In 1944 another hymnal appeared oriented in a different direction, the "*Liederensbundel ten dienste van de Alg. Vereeniging van Vrijzinnige Lutherse in Nederland*" [Hymn collection for the use of the general union of free-thinking Lutherans in the Netherlands]. It was introduced in some congregation but could not win approval as an official hymnbook. Only contact with the ecumenical movement of world Lutheranism gave the decisive impulse to Lutheranism in Holland to become conscious of its heritage and to find therein a basis for a union of the churches and groups into one church body using a common form of worship.

The most significant characteristic of the new Lutheran hymnal is, therefore, the concern observable elsewhere in Lutheranism today, to recapture the liturgical character of the reformation hymnal and to allow the practical use of the hymnal in worship to be determinative for its structure and content, the hymn being understood once again as part of the priesthood of the congregation. Along this line the Dutch hymnal follows

the German hymnbook, *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*, which appeared in 1950 having already in 1949 been accepted as the common hymnal of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany, and which has since been introduced in almost all of the evangelical churches in Germany. Contact was made at that time with the hymnologists working on this hymnal (Dr. Soehngen, Dr. Brodde). The structure of the hymnal of 1955 corresponds generally to that of the *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*, part one containing the Propers, or hymns for the Church Year, part two the Ordinary, or hymns used as liturgical parts of the liturgy. In the other sections there are certain differences and transpositions. For instance, the hymns of the church are combined with the hymns of praise, the hymns of faith and life with hymns of cross and comfort, and so forth. In addition to Lutheran psalm hymns there is, at the end, a number of more recent Reformed tradition in which one can see the contrasting characteristics of both groups.

In the selection of hymns, however, the contact with hymnal development in Germany becomes particularly apparent, a natural thing considering that the languages are very closely related. From the main body of 394 hymns in the *Ev. Kirchengesangbuch* 123 have been adopted as well as 8 from the Schleswig-Holstein-Hamburg appendix. A total of 23 hymns of Luther have been included. Other German hymns appear from the broad tradition of pietism, rationalism and the 19th century, whose significance in Holland today is apparently greater than in Germany. In order to prevent too sharp a break with what the congregations have been accustomed to there is an appendix "Toegevoegde Liederen" with songs whose value in worship is also in dispute in Germany: *Schönster Herr Jesu, Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe, O du fröhliche, Es kennt der Herr die Seinen, Harre meine Seele, O Jesu du mein Trost und Leben, So nimm denn meine Hände*—hymns, however, which repeatedly emerge in German appendices too. A closer connection with the thought of the nation than one is normally accustomed to is to be found in such hymns as those of William of Nassau and "We gather together" (the thanksgiving hymn of the Netherlands). There are 70 hymns newly translated from the German, most of them

for the first time. It is striking that even quite recent German hymns by Klepper and Müller-Osten are included (*Die Nacht ist vorgedrungen* and *Also liebt Gott die arge Welt*). Hymns that are ecumenically known have been taken from Anglo-Saxon church tradition: *For all the Saints, Abide with me, Holy, holy, holy* and *O God our help in ages past*.

In regard to the melodies the same development can be noticed as in the rest of European Lutheranism, that is, the return to the spirited original rhythm. In German melodies the settings correspond exactly to the *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*, even down to the refinement of the problem of including both possibilities of *Ein' feste Burg* side by side.

There has been an admirable courage in the revision of texts of even well-known hymns, especially in the older translations from German. The tendency has been the same as in concurrent German hymnological work, to respect as far as possible the original poet, but to make archaic expressions understandable. Too great accommodation to present-day use of language is avoided lest the meaning of the poet be destroyed. In the Reformation hymns in German clashes occur when the accents of words and music do not coincide. These are live and have an effect of tension, for example in *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland, Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ, Komm Heiliger Geist, Vater unser im Himmelreich*. These clashes have been resolved partly by the mere fact of translation and partly deliberately circuted, which is the right of translation. As a whole this hymnal demonstrates the fine fellowship that exists between neighboring Lutheran churches across language barriers and at the same time shows their common spiritual heritage.

The liturgy prepared at the same time was motivated by the same intellectual-theological movements mentioned in connection with the hymnal. This development is along the same lines noticeable in German-speaking Lutheranism and in the Lutheran churches of North America. It concerns the Lutheran order of the mass of the Wittenberg type. This fact has considerable significance especially in Dutch church and liturgical history.

At the Reformation the tiny Lutheran minority in the Netherlands, in view of the

Calvinistic environment and in order not to give offense, imposed on itself extreme reservation in the question of worship. The liturgy of 1567 which was created with the assistance of Flaccius Illyricus, Selnecher and Dyriacus Spangenberg did not take the north German Lutheran mass as a model but rather followed the south German preaching service. This grew up, as a result of certain historical conditions concomitant with the development of worship in Württemberg, out of the medieval "Prädikanten" services [services without Sacrament conducted by preaching friars, etc.] The powerful effect of the German Lutheran congregational hymn is felt in the service; in fact one could speak of liturgical dominance by the congregational hymn. (All of Luther's hymns are included.) There is an opening hymn followed by Luther's hymn on the Creed, after which the pastor enters the pulpit during the singing of *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* or *Komm Heiliger Geist*. Then there is the lesson, sermon, followed by communion admonition and the distribution, during which hymns are sung (*Agnus Dei*, communion hymns and *Gott sei gelobet*) and a closing hymn.

Only since the 20's and 30's of the 20th century had more genuinely Lutheran material been introduced by some pastors. The Association for Inner and Foreign Missions published an experimental liturgy which produced stimuli in this direction. In 1935 pastors and laymen formed a working group called "Kerk en Liturgie" which prepared a liturgy for the main service that was adopted by many congregations. This was the liturgy of the Old Prussian Union of 1895. Even the musical settings of this type were introduced. Basically this meant a step toward the Lutheran order of the mass.

In the meantime, however, closer contact was established with the liturgical developments in Germany and America and resulted in a deeper understanding of the Lutheran liturgy, again because of the stimulating impulse of the Lutheran World Federation. This can be recognized in the service that is now completed and which has just been adopted by the synod. The Kyrie and Gloria in excelsis have been freed of the shackles which bound them to the confession of sin and the declaration of grace.

The Confiteor appears optionally at the beginning. To the double reading of scripture there is added a totally new feature for Holland, the Gradual hymn. (The list of Gradual hymns in the new hymnal indicates 32 that coincide with the German canon, especially clustered about Christmas and Easter, that is, among those that have the strongest character of Propers. A more inclusive identity is not possible because of the diverging hymn traditions.) A curiosity of the liturgy is the fact that at the service without Sacrament the Creed appears after the Gospel whereas it is otherwise after the Prayer for the Church and before the Preface. The acclamations before and after the Gospel appear as in the German *Lutherische Agende I*. The order of the Lord's Supper follows the Wittenberg type, the Words of Institution immediately preceding the distribution.

The significant thing about this order is, first of all, the fact of the henceforth complete and unequivocal change from the preaching service to the Lutheran order of the mass. In this express example of Holland's, we may discern the total weight of Lutheran development which in Europe has become ever more certain since the gradual defeat of rationalism from the middle of the 19th century on.

Thus an essential element of the new order of service is the expansion of liturgical action beyond the responses of hymn and sermon to include the full liturgical cycle. The acclamations and responses of the congregation appear as totally new liturgical items. The singing of the parts of the Ordinary by the congregation is in concise and shortened form in regard to the Kyrie-Gloria (without *Laudamus*). Nevertheless, possibilities for complete amplification are given in the liturgical appendix (that of Strassburg, 1525). The Creed is normally spoken but the proper sung form has been made optional and is given here too.

Finally it is important and striking that fundamental recognition has been given to the musical dimension as a form expressive of the eucharistic character of worship and as a presupposition for a living and natural antiphonal response of liturgist and congregation as an act of worship. In this connection it is especially noteworthy that the

liturgical chant of the pastor has been optionally provided, something thoroughly unaccustomed and new for Holland. With the introduction of the salutation and verses including the introductory versicles of the Preface it had shown itself to be indispensable from the beginning. It is simply a logical consequence of steps already taken that chanting extend itself to include the prayers at the altar. It is a gladdening sign of growing church unity between geographical neighbors and linguistic relatives that the liturgical settings are almost completely identical to those of the German *Lutherische Agende I* that has recently been published.

The liturgical action of the choir and the incorporation of church music as serving, liturgical elements are not yet fully developed. So we find here the solution of the Prussian Union liturgy, the Introit being said by the liturgist, instead of being sung by the choir. In this point we shall have to await further developments.

From an overall Lutheran standpoint the question could be raised whether it is necessary to place a verse in front of the Kyrie in order to prevent the immediate sequence of Gloria patri and Kyrie-Gloria, and whether it is proper to have the Gloria in excelsis sung throughout the year whereas the Alleluia is omitted also in Advent.

In addition to the liturgy of the main service the hymnal includes the hours in a simple congregational form for matins and vespers. Here too there is a recognizable development parallel to that in the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany. The structure corresponds to the provisional German order with certain abbreviations: Ingressus, psalm, lesson, hymn (hymn of the week), canticle (Benedictus and Magnificat appear in chant form in the hymnbook, a first step towards psalmody!), prayer (Kyrie, Lord's Prayer, silent prayer, daily collect), Salutation, Benedicamus and Benediction. The musical forms are again those of the German orders. Here, too, chant is provided especially in the closing section of the prayers.

Seen as a whole, the new Lutheran liturgy and hymnal in the Netherlands shows one area of the Lutheran church consciously in the process of giving practical form to public worship.

Rudolf Utermöhlen

North America

The New Service Book and Hymnal of the American Church

Why a preview of a book that has not yet appeared from the press? The answer: — the importance which the church in America attaches to this cooperative endeavor; the significance this book may have for the devotional life and spiritual unity of a continent-wide church; and, possibly most important, the character and quality of the work itself.

This book is not a private venture. It has been officially authorized, and has been prepared by joint commissions appointed by eight churches which together enroll more than two-thirds of all Lutherans in the United States and Canada. For these churches, it will be as important an instrument as the Anglican Prayer Book and the Roman Missal are in their respective communions.

Its preparation required not only knowledge, but wisdom; editorial skill, but also patience and tact. Differences, not only of taste, but of uses and preferences inherited from many national and cultural backgrounds, required reconciliation. The present needs of a great and growing church coming to cultural maturity and conscious of its common mission in America today, had ever to be kept in view.

After ten years of research, discussion and constructive effort, complete agreement has been reached. This is the more remarkable since comparable agreement has not been yet attained in related areas of doctrinal discussion, in problems of organic union, or even in such practical matters as pulpit and altar fellowship.

The book has features old and new. It will contain a liturgy with full propers and with several new features from the earliest Christian liturgies not found in other Lutheran rites. Three complete musical settings include traditional forms and original compositions, with a modern system of "pointing" and an unusual type of accompaniment of plainsong. The hymnal is a standard collection based upon a thorough study of the whole range of Christian hymnody, with many Lutheran "heritage hymns" in new translations. The Commission on the Liturgy has also reached complete agreement on the texts of some twenty

"Occasional Services", (Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, Burial, Ordination, etc.).

These, briefly, are some of the facts which have invited the preparation of the following article.

Inception and Organization

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, patriarch of the Lutheran church in America, proclaimed the ideal of "one church, one book" as early as 1786. Many years passed before the church could attempt to achieve this goal. The reasons for this are the same as those that prevented the Lutheran churches in Europe from having a common liturgy or a common hymnal—nationalism, linguistic diversity, the self-sufficiency of provincial churches (Saxony, Bavaria, Hannover, Mecklenburg, etc.), and the failure to recognize the possibility of a continent-wide Lutheran church except as a vague and ineffective theological abstraction.

The Roman church remains united and strong though its people live in many lands and speak different languages, largely because of its unbroken use of a single Rite. The Anglican communion, through the universal use of its Prayer Book in translations, unites its people in a community of faith and practice. The Lutheran churches in Europe and America have never had a comparable helpful instrument.

Early Lutherans in America redrew the map of Europe on American soil. Linguistic groups established separate synods and general bodies, founded colleges and seminaries, and published separate liturgies and hymnals, each after its kind. It required long years, the restriction of immigration, the birth of new generations, the influence of the public schools, and the impact of two world wars to accelerate the process of anglicization and americanization, to erase the old European map lines, and to lift the *Lutheran churches* in America to a common conception of a *Lutheran church* in America.

Prophetic voices had occasionally been heard in the American Lutheran Conference, the United Lutheran Church and the Augustana Church suggesting the possibility of at least a common hymnal. It remained, however, for Dr. Oscar Blackwelder, of Washington, D. C., to spark the movement that produced the Common Liturgy and Hymnal. The United Lutheran Church, in

session in Minneapolis in October, 1944, adopted the final report of its Common Service Book Committee, which had completed a revision of the hymnal of the church. At that point, Dr. Blackwelder moved that the church instruct the Committee "to seek the fullest possible cooperation with other Lutheran bodies, in the hope of preparing, as nearly as proves feasible, a common Lutheran hymnal in America." This proposal was enthusiastically adopted. Events proved that the churches were more nearly ready for such an endeavor than had been realized.

Drs. Luther D. Reed and Harvey D. Hoover, chairman and secretary respectively of the Common Service Book Committee, formally extended the invitation which had been authorized, and every Lutheran general body in America accepted it, except the Missouri Synod, whose president declined participation. A Joint Commission on the Hymnal was organized in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 23, 1945. Early promise of success by this Commission led the representatives of the Augustana Church to propose a Joint Commission on the Liturgy. The presidents of the cooperating churches authorized a small exploratory conference which met in Chicago February 25, 1946. Acting upon favorable reports of this meeting, the presidents appointed additional representatives who met in Pittsburgh June 26–28, 1946, and organized the Joint Commission on the Liturgy. Many meetings of both commissions were held in Chicago and Philadelphia during the following years, several joint sessions of the two Commissions were held, and a Joint Editorial Committee was constituted to prepare the manuscript and carry the work through the press.

The commissions included a representative group of scholars and church musicians. There were twenty-three members of the Hymnal Commission and eighteen members of the Liturgical Commission. In seven instances individuals were members of both commissions. The group, thirty-four in all, included ten presidents of, or professors in, seminaries and colleges of the church. Other members were presidents of synods, editors of church papers, church musicians and prominent pastors. Both commissions organized promptly and appointed subcommittees for study of assigned subjects.

The general officers elected were: Dr. Reed, chairman of both commissions, with Dr. E. E. Ryden, secretary of the Commission on the Hymnal; and Dr. H. C. Leupold, secretary of the Commission on the Liturgy; Dr. George R. Seltzer, chairman of the Sub-Committee on Text of both commissions; Dr. Edward Traill Horn, III, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Music of both commissions; and Dr. Albert Jagnow, secretary of the Music Committee of the Hymnal Commission. The important Joint Editorial Committee consisted of Dr. Seltzer, chairman, Dr. William R. Seaman, secretary, the officers of both Commissions mentioned above, and the following additional members: Drs. Conrad Bergendoff (Augustana), Lawrence N. Field (Evangelical Lutheran Church), and F. C. M. Hansen (United Evangelical Lutheran Church).

All major decisions, including texts, tunes, and every measure of music, were made by majority action of the respective commissions. Reconciliation of the precise form of approved texts, rubrics, and musical settings; the securing of permissions for use of copy-righted material; capitalization and punctuation, styling, proof-reading, etc., became the responsibility of the Editorial Committee.

Principles and Procedure

The commissioners were deeply conscious of the hope of the churches that agreement be reached. Initial study uncovered a core of common agreement in both the hymnal and the liturgy, though with many minor variations. Individual groups sought to place special items in the common work. Some of these were not of exceptional merit, but were suggested because of traditional or sentimental attachments. It soon became evident that compromise and uncritical deference to sectional preferences and individual tastes would produce an inferior and unbalanced book, and that constructive effort was required. Lutheran uses everywhere must be studied, beloved heritages conserved, and, beyond this, the entire liturgical and hymnological field in various communions and countries, especially in the English-speaking world, must be reviewed. The requirements and the possibilities of the church in America today, and in the foreseeable future, must govern the selection of the individual items and the

balance of the whole. And, as a final major consideration, every part of the book must be distinguished both by scholarship and by excellence of literary form. In all these matters the commissioners themselves grew in appreciation and understanding as they worked with a mass of material throughout the years.

In the hymnal, the commission found that only 153 hymns were in current use in all four of the larger Lutheran hymnals. Many of these differed in details of text and tune. *Ein' feste Burg* appeared in six different English translations, and four variant forms of the melody. After considering all factors, the commission adopted a set of principles which, in summary, included the following ideas: the hymnal must be a new book, built on existing collections, but possessing a character of its own. It must be a true companion to the liturgy. It must be suitable for congregational, rather than choral, use. Its contents should be devotional rather than homiletical or catechetical in character. The collection must express the continuity and catholicity of the church's life, with adequate representation of classic Greek and Latin hymns, the finest examples of all our heritage hymns, and of hymnody in general throughout the English-speaking world. Increased recognition must be given to hymns by American authors. All texts must meet requirements of both doctrinal purity and excellence of English literary expression. Mediocrity, triviality, and sentimentality must be avoided, and nobility of thought and expression sought. The tunes, on their part, must be of corresponding quality, with examples of all periods and places—plain-song, German and Scandinavian chorals and religious folk songs, French church tunes, British, Welsh and American tunes, etc.—all of which meant the preparation of a new and standard work.

The Commission on the Liturgy finally came to agreement on forms which represent the purified western rite of the Church Universal, faithful to Lutheran doctrine and history, and containing a blend of German, Scandinavian and American uses, with a few new features recovered from the services of the early Christian church — all adapted to meet the requirements of corporate worship in America today.

The new liturgy cannot be understood apart from the church which produced it,

and the time and place of its origin. The confusion resulting from the many different liturgical forms used by the older generations of Lutherans in America had been greatly relieved by the adoption of the so-called Common Service in 1888. This admirable work, which eventually was incorporated in practically all Lutheran service books, was an American expression of the liturgical and confessional revival in Germany and England of a century ago. At that time, American Lutheran scholars were perfectly familiar with the works of Kliefoth, Alt, Schoeberlein, Hoefling, Loehe, and others in Germany, and of Keble, Palmer, Freeman, Wheatly, Neale, Goulburn, and others in England. Their desire was to recapture forgotten liturgical and hymnological treasures of the classic periods of the church's history, and to lift the corporate worship of the churches in America above the low levels to which it had been reduced by pietism, rationalism and unionism. The Common Service had become possible only when all co-operating groups agreed upon a historic principle or "Rule", namely: "The common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the 16th century". This formula placed the project of an English Lutheran liturgy upon an objective, historical basis which all could accept.

Important as the Common Service was in elevating and unifying the common worship of the church in America since 1888, its limitations were evident. It was incomplete in providing no hymnal, no occasional services, and no musical settings. These continued to be prepared individually by the separate general bodies. In beginning its work the Commission also recognized the fact that the church orders of the 16th century were local or provincial reforms of the Roman Rite prepared for a single kingdom, duchy, or a city like Nuremberg, Strassburg, Cologne, or a town like Wittenberg or Goettingen. The theologians and jurists who edited them had limited knowledge of the worship of the early Christian church, or of any other than local liturgical forms. The framers of the Common Service could only reach agreement by the adoption of their objective but limited rule. We in America today are not living in the 16th but in the 20th century. Pioneer conditions no longer exist. Sectional and linguistic differences are fast disappearing. All Lutheran groups are conscious of increasing

maturity and solidarity in the Western world. Our historic confessions, which testify to our inner unity and strength, proclaim a freedom greater than that which the authors of the Common Service could exercise in their day. The Apology to the Augsburg Confession (Article XV) says: "we maintain the old traditions in the Church for the sake of usefulness and tranquility." The Formula of Concord (Epidome, Article X) adds: "The Church of God of every place and every time has the power, according to its circumstances, to change ceremonies instituted by man in such manner as may be most useful and edifying." These basic principles provided a broader platform for the Commission on the Liturgy than the rule which had determined the preparation of the Common Service. The application of these principles extended the Common Service to include occasional services and a hymnal, complete musical settings, and new material, small in volume but important in character.

The resulting liturgy is a new work on foundations laid centuries ago. Basically, it conforms very closely to the ideas expressed by Luther in his classic *Formula Missae* of 1525, which simply was a purified form of the historic Rite of the Western church. Recognizing that some revisions and adaptations made in the church orders of Germany and Scandinavia in the 16th century are inadequate, and even impossible, for use in America today, the commission proposes certain forms which, because of their number and importance, will constitute a distinctive American use. In spirit and form the resulting Common Liturgy has a contemporary and continent-wide character. In structure and content it is historic and not individual; its tone is devotional rather than dogmatic; its outlook is ecumenical rather than narrowly confessional or provincial.

The outline of the new liturgy presents the historic Lutheran service in fullest form. There is a preliminary service of confession with a Declaration of Grace. The Service of the Day then begins with the Introit for the Day. The main divisions of the Service proper include the Service of the Word and the Service of the Sacrament. The latter includes the Preface and Sanctus; the Thanksgiving with the Words of Institution and the Lord's Prayer; the Administration; and the Post-Communion. There are complete

proper appointments for every Sunday and festival—historic introits, collects, epistles, graduals, and gospels.

New features include the following:

Insertion of the Festival of the Holy Innocents, Martyrs, in the calendar. A brief Order of Public Confession.

An alternate Declaration of Grace, based upon a Compline text. Several additional historic introits, collects, and graduals for Sundays and festivals.

A carefully revised lectionary, with three new epistles, four new gospels, and several optional alternate gospels. Lengthened or shortened texts in several lessons.

Musical settings for ten Season Graduals.

A set of propers for an early service on Easter Day.

A few changes in archaic expressions in the text of the Authorized Version of the Scriptures.

A change in the order of parts following the sermon: Offering, Offertory Sentences, Prayer of the Church, this last with an entirely new text.

Permissive use of the historic and generally accepted word *catholic* instead of *Christian* in the Creeds.

A simplified formula of Distribution of the Sacrament, based on the early church and the liturgy of the Church of Sweden.

New Proper Prefaces for Advent and All Saints' Day.

Additional post-Communion collects.

An entirely new series of lessons for matins and vespers, and a series of daily lessons.

Sixty-five new collects and prayers. This important body of new material reflects contemporary thought in the expanding areas of the church's activity—missions, education, social service, etc.

Complete musical settings for the minister's intonations.

Special mention may be made of four new features, all of which are restorations and adaptations of ancient liturgical and musical uses, chiefly in the early church:

1. A complete series of Old Testament lessons, closely related to the thought of the epistle or the gospel, has been provided for optional reading before the

epistle. With exception of the psalter in matins and vespers, the use of the Old Testament has practically disappeared from Christian services. The reintroduction of this feature from the use of the early church will acquaint our congregations with many of the most important passages in the Old Testament.

2. The new and expanded text of the Kyrie is also a restoration of an historic and meaningful form of the early church. The brief three-fold Kyrie in our present use is a surviving fragment of a longer responsive litany which anciently followed the entrance psalm (Introit). The petitions of the minister and the uniform responses of the congregation—a simple *kyrie eleison*—were not penitential in character or limited in scope. They contained broad and objective intercessions for peace of mind, for the peace of the whole world, the good estate of the church, the city, and the government, etc. Gregory the Great transferred some of these intercessions to a later place in the service, keeping only the people's responses at this place. In time, this liturgical remnant completely lost its original meaning, and its litany form, and came to be regarded as a simple cry of penitence. There is no precedent in any known Lutheran liturgy for the restoration of the original and fuller form of the Kyrie. It is, however, an historically valid form and a constructive and meaningful addition to our liturgy. Following is its text:

THE KYRIE

In peace let us pray to the Lord.

R. Lord, have mercy.

For the peace that is from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us pray to the Lord.

R. Lord, have mercy.

For the peace of the whole world, for the wellbeing of the churches of God, and the unity of all, let us pray to the Lord.

R. Lord, have mercy.

For this holy House, and for them that in faith, piety and fear of God offer here their worship and praise, let us pray to the Lord.

R. Lord, have mercy.

Help, save, pity, and defend us, O God, by Thy grace.

Amen.

3. The Prayer of Thanksgiving (Eucharistic Prayer) is also an ancient feature whose reintroduction will strengthen another weak spot in our customary use. Luther's reform of the service at this point was drastic, and very unlike his usual conservative procedure. His amputation of all prayer forms — good as well as bad — surrounding the Words of Institution robbed the liturgy of its historical and ecumenical character and fastened a strange and unique use upon subsequent Lutheran history. This has invited severe criticism from liturgical scholars of other communions. They believe that in arbitrarily divorcing the Dominical Words from all prayer forms of remembrance and thanksgiving, the Lutheran Church has not only broken with universal Christian practice, but in using these words as a mere formula of consecration, it effects a "mechanistic materialization" of the Sacrament which is "more Roman than the Romans." Dissatisfaction among Lutheran students of the liturgy has also been general in all periods. All agree that historic, doctrinal and devotional aspects of the problem will find their natural solution in the restoration of a carefully framed Eucharistic Prayer which will continue the exuberant strains of the Preface and the Sanctus, and encompass our Saviour's life-giving Words with solemn thoughts of remembrance and exalted expressions of thanksgiving.

The early church developed a definite pattern for such a prayer. This almost universally included a post-Sanctus, with its continuing notes of adoration; a recitation of the Words of Institution; a solemn reference to our Lord's incarnation, sufferings and death, resurrection and ascension (the *Anamnesis*); an invocation of the Holy Spirit (*Epiclesis*); and petitions for the spiritual blessing of the Sacrament upon all who partake of it. Several Lutheran church orders of the sixteenth century attempted, though not too successfully, to surround the Verba with pure prayer forms. Thus the Kantz Order, 1522, Strassburg, 1525, Pfalz-Neuburg, 1543, Austria, 1571. The English Prayer Book, 1549, developed lengthy forms of evangelical character. In the nineteenth century, Loche's Agenda, 1844, Bavaria, 1879, and Russia, 1898, provided brief forms, as did several

American liturgies—e. g., the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1853, and the Joint Synod of Ohio, 1863. More recent Lutheran liturgies which give a Eucharistic Prayer include an extended form in India, 1936, and a briefer form in the Church of Sweden, 1942.

The Prayer of Thanksgiving in the Common Liturgy is a pure text which follows the order of the creed. It is based throughout upon historic models in the early church and is entirely pre-Roman in character. In addition to its historic and devotional features, this prayer makes manifest, as no other single part of the service does, the real meaning of the Sacrament we celebrate and its relation to the Lord's Supper and to the entire redemptive work of Christ. The text follows:

The Prayer of Thanksgiving

Holy art Thou, Almighty and Merciful God. Holy art Thou, and great is the Majesty of Thy glory. Thou didst so love the world as to give Thine Only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish, but have everlasting life; Who, having come into the world to fulfill for us Thy holy will and to accomplish all things for our salvation, IN THE NIGHT IN WHICH HE WAS BETRAYED, ^aTOOK BREAD; AND WHEN HE HAD GIVEN THANKS, HE BRAKE IT AND GAVE IT TO HIS DISCIPLES, SAYING, TAKE EAT; THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU; THIS DO IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.

(a) Here he shall take the BREAD in his hand.

AFTER THE SAME MANNER ALSO, HE ^bTOOK THE CUP, WHEN HE HAD SUPPED, AND WHEN HE HAD GIVEN THANKS, HE GAVE IT TO THEM, SAYING, DRINK YE ALL OF IT; THIS CUP IS THE NEW TESTAMENT IN MY BLOOD, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU, AND FOR MANY, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS; THIS DO, AS OFT AS YE DRINK IT, IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.

(b) Here he shall take the CUP in his hand.

Remembering, therefore, His salutary precept, His life-giving Passion and Death, His glorious Resurrection, and Ascension and the promise of His coming again, we

give thanks to Thee, O Lord God Almighty, not as we ought, but as we are able; and we beseech Thee mercifully to accept our praise and thanksgiving, and with Thy Word and Holy Spirit to bless us, Thy servants, and these Thine own gifts of bread and wine, so that we and all who partake thereof may be filled with heavenly benediction and grace, and, receiving the remission of sins, be sanctified in soul and body and have our portion with all Thy saints.

And unto Thee, O God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be all honor and glory in Thy Holy Church, world without end. Amen.

Then shall the Minister sing or say:

Our Father, Who art in heaven; Hallowed be Thy Name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven; Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil;

The Congregation may sing or say:

FOR Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

4. The unusually complete musical settings for the service, matins and vespers, the Litany and the Burial Service contain many items of genuine churchly character especially composed or arranged for the book. There also are many traditional forms with strong modal feeling. The liturgy proper has three complete settings. The first contains Anglican chant forms, familiar to English-speaking people everywhere. There are chants and melodies by such early composers as Tallis, Merbecke, and John Blow; by 19th century composers Crotch, S. S. Wesley, Goss, Monk, Smart and Elvey; and by the moderns: T. Tertius Noble, Sydney Nicholson, Healey Willan and Leo Sowerby. This setting also contains fine traditional melodies derived from Brunswick, Prussia, Rhein Pfalz, Freylinghausen, J. G. Winer and J. S. Bach. Harold W. Gilbert, of St. Peter's Church and Choir School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has been professional advisor for this setting, editing the service music, settings for the Litany and the Burial Service, and providing original compositions for the Season Graduals. The "pointing" of the text is in accordance with the modern "speech-rhythm" system, which seeks to bring the natural accents of the melody in

closest relation to the natural accents of the text.

The second setting, called the "continental," has no chants, but provides more fully developed melodic forms for the Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, etc., as universally found in Lutheran services in Germany, Scandinavia and other areas of Europe. Mrs. Regina H. Fryxell, an accomplished musician and composer of Rock Island, Illinois, has edited this setting, contributing original material and arranging melodies from tenth, eleventh and twelfth century masses, and sixteenth century church orders, the Bohemian Brethren, etc.

The third setting is pure plainsong, an adaptation of the melodic forms of the *Orbis Factor* mass of the tenth century, beautifully done by Ernest White of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, New York City, an authority in this field. His accompaniments to the responses are intended to center all attention upon the melody and to supply a light screen background rather than a solid support for the melodies themselves. The conventional modal accompaniment to Plainsong is treated with great freedom and enlivened by the introduction of seconds and sevenths. These relieve the frequent sense of finality often felt in the progress of the text with strictly modal accompaniment. These non-modal intervals carry the entire composition to its natural conclusion in unhindered melodic flow.

The Hymnal

The Commission on the Hymnal resolved not to prepare a pool of the texts of existing Lutheran hymnals, or an anthology of Lutheran hymn writers. The real objective soon came to be the preparation of a fine standard English hymnal, suitable for the use of Lutheran congregations in America. The special problem was that of including and balancing acceptable translations of "heritage hymns" from Lutheran lands in Europe and the equally rich heritage of hymns and tunes of English origin which help to form and color our church life. The hymnal contains 600 hymns and more than an equal number of tunes. The following rubrics have been materially strengthened: Worship; the Holy Communion; the Inner Life; Christian Service; City, Nation, World. In the field of classic hymnody, fourteen

items are translations from the Greek and fifty translations from the Latin. Eighty-three translations from the German head the list of "heritage hymns." The important Scandinavian contribution includes many new or improved translations by Drs. Ryden, Hansen, Field and Horn of the commission. Among Swedish hymns are seven by Wallin, two by Franzen, and others by Caroline Berg, etc. Of the twenty or more items from the Danish and Norwegian, there are seven hymns by Grundtvig, four by Bishop Kingo, four by Landstad, three by Brorson, three by Brigitte Boye, etc. There are four translations from the Finnish and three from the Icelandic.

English hymns of high excellence include texts by Milton, Baxter, Bunyan, and George Herbert of the early period; Charles Wesley (19), Isaac Watts (16), James Montgomery (14), Reginald Heber (7), John Keble (4), Frederick William Faber (8), Christopher Wordsworth (8), William Walsham How (7), Francis Ridley Havergal (7), and others of the nineteenth century; and single items by such moderns as Rudyard Kipling, G. K. Chesterton, Percy Dearmer, John Oxenham, and John Masefield. There are many fine translations from the Latin and Greek by John Mason Neale and others.

The American section has been materially strengthened. The early New England poets are represented by Whittier (6), Samuel Longfellow (3), Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Cullen Bryant, and James Russell Lowell. Other authors are Ray Palmer, Phillips Brooks, George Washington Doane, Frederick L. Hosmer (5), Louis F. Benson, Walter Russell Bowie, Leigh Mitchell Hodges, etc. Among American Lutheran authors are Justus Falkner, C. P. Krauth, Matthias Loy, Henry Eyster Jacobs, Laura S. Copenhaver, Margaret R. Seebach, etc. Members of the Hymnal Commission have contributed original hymns as follows: E. E. Ryden (5), Paul Z. Strodach (2), Ernest W. Olson (2), and single items by Edward T. Horn III, Lawrence N. Field, George R. Seltzer and Luther D. Reed.

The music of the Hymnal is especially varied and of high order. There are sixteen plainsong melodies, approximately 85 German chorals (with 15 Bach harmonizations), 12 Swedish chorals and melodies, 12 Norwegian tunes and folk songs, and 10 folk songs from the Danish. Early English com-

posers are represented by Orlando Gibbons, Jeremiah Clarke, etc. Nineteenth century composers include Dykes, Barnby, Sullivan, Monk, Smart and many others. Modern composers are Vaughan Williams, Martin Shaw, Eric Thiman, Graham George, Gustav Holst, etc. American composers include Lowell Mason, William Bradbury, Horatio Parker, Tertius Noble, George W. Warren, Mathias Keller, John Edgar Gould, George W. Chadwick, Howard Chandler Robbins, etc. American Lutheran composers include J. F. Ohl, L. David Miller, Gerhard T. Alexis, Leland B. Satern, John Victor Bergquist, Luther D. Reed, etc. A tune competition conducted by the Commission resulted in approximately 400 entries. Of these, 16 original tunes were accepted. These included compositions by Arnold F. Keller, Giuseppe Moschetti, Rob Roy Peery, C. Gordon Ruud, Ralph Lewars, Roger C. Wilson, Catherine Deisher Baxter, and Ralph Alvin Strom.

What of the Future?

The primary purpose of this joint enterprise was the promotion of church unity. It was an attempt to do something of major importance for the common good, and to do it jointly. When the commissioners began their task, probably none of them believed that complete agreement could be reached. The number and variety of linguistic backgrounds, cultural strains and traditional uses, to say nothing of the different levels achieved in different parts of the church in emergence from pioneer conditions, progress in anglicization and assimilation within the fabric of American life in general, made the problem almost insoluble. Could the commissions hope to provide a single service book and hymnal, with common musical settings, that would displace the eight separate liturgies and hymnals in current use? When absolute agreement was reached and ratified by formal action of the churches, no one was more astonished than the commissioners themselves.

It is heart-warming to realize the maturity and solidarity of the whole church which this agreement signifies. More than two-thirds of all the Lutherans in the United States and Canada have acted concertedly and constructively. Practical and psychological values are immediately evident. One book will give the whole church

a sense of oneness in faith and life, a heightened church consciousness. This will be especially significant in this our day of restless movement. Families torn from familiar moorings, and relocated in distant cities or towns, easily drift aimlessly so far as church affiliation is concerned. One book, in use in every part of the continent, will enable many to "feel at home" in new environments, and thus give spiritual anchorage and help. In corporate worship, in education, and in many other fields, the common book will be, next to the Bible and the catechism, the church's most important single book of devotion and instruction. The new book also very definitely inspires the hope that eventually the Lutheran churches in America will indeed become the Lutheran Church in America.

Other considerations, however, are even more important. The commissions grew in knowledge and understanding as their work progressed. It was soon realized that more was required than the mere production of a common book. The book must be something fine in itself, a work of character and quality, complete in all its provisions for all who wish to use it, and distinguished by scholarship which would make it worthy of comparison with similar works in other communions throughout the English-speaking world. In other words, the union of the churches, which seemed so important at the beginning, soon became secondary to the importance of preparing as fine an instrument as possible for the worship of God. The goal must be nothing less than excellence. In stature the book must rise above all service books and hymnals now in use in all our churches.

In completing this work, the commissioners do not imagine that they have said the final word. As long as the church lives, there will be growth and development of all its powers and activities. The church, in appointing commissions and committees to study matters of organization, education, or missions, expects these agencies to produce programs which will lift the Church to higher levels of achievement, and not leave it *in statu quo*. The new service book and hymnal points to higher levels. It is a venture in faith. It is issued in the belief that our congregations, and our people in general, share fully in the cultural developments of our times, with their ever-increasing opportunities for appreciation and

cultivation of music and the arts, literary form, public procedure, etc. The churches may at first be surprised at unusual features in the book. Study of its material, however, will richly reward their efforts, and lead them not only accept it loyally, but to love it.

Proof of the completed manuscript of the hymnal is now being read. Decisions have been reached on all important items in the text and the music of the liturgy, and this manuscript is being rapidly completed. Congregations are accumulating funds for the purchase of the book and are eagerly awaiting its appearance. The confidence of the publishers in the project is expressed by their decision to print a first run of 500,000 copies. Problems of manufacture, as well as the extreme attention given to every syllable of the text and every measure of the music, will probably make it impossible for the book to appear from the press before Easter 1957.

Luther D. Reed

South America

South America and its Protestantism

South America is a continent of the future, there can be no doubt about it. This newly awakened continent with a long history reports the world's highest percentage increase in population. The hygiene situation has improved at such a pace that pestilence and epidemics no longer arise. When that takes full effect the increase in population, which today is still being strangled by the high rate of infant mortality, will leap up in a steep curve. And since the economic development is in full swing, South America with its large population will be a continent able to make its weight felt in world events. Such perspectives seem distant to most people in Europe today. And yet sooner or later we shall run up against them.

Do we, as Evangelical Christians, have a responsibility for this continent which has been Catholic since its discovery? The fact that the Evangelical churches and groups here represent a minority might appear to relieve us of all responsibility. The Lutheran

World Federation is of a different opinion. Through its Committee on Latin America under the farsighted leadership of Dr. Stewart Herman it has taken on the scattered Lutheran churches and groups. Success has been achieved not only in granting material aid to individual congregations, but also in preparing the way for the co-operation of all the Lutheran groups in South America, with the painful exception of the Missouri Synod. We are only at the beginning of this work. It will not lead to quick results, but it is a work of hope. And it is necessary, for it strengthens the brethren who are in dire need of our help and fraternal fellowship, and takes place in responsibility for a great continent which is suffering under the fact that the fresh air of the Gospel has not yet fully permeated it.

But in the following presentation we do not want to concern ourselves with the work of the Lutheran church in South America but rather to examine the background on which this work takes place. This report grows out of the observations of a visit to South America which I undertook on behalf of the Committee on Latin America of the Lutheran World Federation from August to November 1955 and which led through the whole continent, not only to the cities, but often into the interior so that I was able to observe the struggle of the individual congregations, pastors and settlers.

There are two very important facts that should be recognized in any observation and decision:

1. South America finds itself in an entirely different intellectual, political and social situation from that in Europe or North America. It is also in a different phase of development and therefore has a totally different rhythm of life from those lands and peoples with whom we are acquainted. We are not dealing with reality if we draw conclusions or make demands in regard to South America based on our own situation or from our own experience.
2. The Lutheran congregations are consciously or unconsciously incorporated into the rhythm of life of South America and its society. Nor is this fact substantially changed by a certain seclusion in relation to their environment. However, since they have

limited themselves exclusively till now to the work among the Evangelical immigrants from Europe and their descendants (the largest percentage of their pastors are from Germany and are intellectually dependent on Europe) they are still thought of as something like a foreign body by the other churches and by the public. And actually they find themselves in a certain half-way position that has its definite tensions. But they want to belong to their host country. Therefore it is understandable that they reject well-meaning suggestions that come completely from outside.

This situation is difficult to observe for the outsider. Things look different on the inside. I experienced a situation in which a South America expert from North America after a speech by a Brazilian politician said that he was glad he had not taken a stand beforehand in the question under discussion for he had not analyzed things correctly till then. What is striking, however, is that the situation in all of South America is, at the same time, very uniform and very different. South America is a land of contradictions and just herein lies its uniformity. Above all the inhabitants themselves do not find them to be contradictions and even the immigrants soon become accustomed to them.

The most important pairs of contradictions can be grouped together like this:

1. The economic centers of the country find themselves in a sweeping economic industrial and technical development. Sao Paulo, Lima a bit less, but above all Caracas stand out as the strongest focal points. This economic rise is to be found in many fast-growing cities, although it is being overshadowed at the same time by the economic crisis in the ABC states (Argentina, Brazil and Chile). This development is concentrated basically in the large economic centers. Centralization is going on without question, even when large agricultural areas which once formed the background of the economy are thus depleted of men.

With the rise of the most modernly furnished metropolises there is a corresponding backward social structure. While millions crowd together in the cities seeking the possibility of work in the newly established industries, the social classes find themselves in much the same relation to one another as they were in Western and Central

Europe at the beginning of capitalism towards the middle of the 19th century. Over against the monstrous wealth of a small layer of society there is the very bitter poverty of an incomparably large mass of people who live in very bad housing conditions. In Rio alone there are 400 000 people living in the poor huts in the Negro quarters which the police hesitate to enter. Similar conditions can be observed in any large city in South America. A middle class has recently begun to arise in Argentina and in Chile. The social differences are put up with in general as a fact, without letting loose revolutionary currents. The hot climate and the wealth of nature, in which even the do-nothing can nourish himself from fruit, makes a life without compulsion or work much more attractive for many than material advance, and weakens the consciousness of social differences. There is an outspoken disparity between modern technology and the backward structure of the social pyramid. The workers of Argentina, aroused by Peronism, are struggling by means of their unions for a new social structure. In this point Argentina is probably farther along than the others since Buenos Aires already has a healthy middle class and an organized, self-conscious working class.

2. It is amazing to discover that almost all South American countries exhibit social legislation that in many ways goes beyond their European and North American models. Social legislation has been overdone in the desire to be modern and democratic. The protection of the worker goes so far that he only too often misunderstands it as encouragement to irresponsible laziness, as for example the right to a half-year's sick-leave in Argentina. The employer may not, to give another example, fire a worker who has worked for him for 10 years. So he puts him out after 9 unless he is perfectly satisfied with him. South America's rather refined social legislation has resulted in social and economic insecurity because it was unnaturally foisted upon employers and employees who were not yet prepared for it, and who ought to be disciplined for it over a long period of time. But this is contrary to the nature of the South American. The social legislation is also a hindrance to economic development, especially in the ABC states, since it prevents the formation of capital and does not succeed in disciplining the native worker, although it often affects the immigrant European quite adversely.

And so corresponding to the progressive social legislation there is social insecurity in which only the strong assert themselves. The individual in many of the countries feels himself abandoned to the caprice of administrative officials.

3. The whole continent is ruled by a nationalism that is difficult to imagine. This is totalitarian in many points but is not felt to be unjustly so by the inhabitants because they are in favor of nationalism. It is remarkable that even the immigrant Europeans participate from the second generation on.

Nationalism shows itself especially in the question of language. In South America, not only is there little attempt to learn foreign languages.—That is the reason why it is difficult to get along with English, German and French. The only helpful factor is that there are so many Germans that the traveller meets German follow-passengers, at least in the German settlements, who can serve as interpreters.—But every South American country which avoided war with Germany, with the exception of Chile, since the second World War maintains the language of the country as the only basic language in its public and private schools. In the primary schools no foreign language may be taught at all and in the higher schools German may only be taught as a foreign language. Principalships must be filled by citizens of the country who have passed a domestic examination. In this way success has been obtained in just over a decade in forcing the rising generation of all immigrant groups to change to Spanish or Portuguese. This change is accomplished in general without marked resistance. Only individual families which regard Europe as their cultural home try to counteract it.

The change is often paid for with a lowering of the cultural level. The new language is appropriated technically, but that by no means includes growing into its spirit or culture. That is true, for example, of the districts in Brazil in which the government closed the German schools but did not take the trouble to create Portuguese schools to replace them. The reason for the lack of resistance, even of children of immigrant parents, is the dominant desire to be recognized as full citizens of the country. They love the country and care more than as Germans.

The exaggerated national feeling in the Spanish-speaking countries is particularly expressed in the cult around San Martín and Simón Bolívar and the short history since the liberation. At the same time it shows itself in the intractable will to be at the head of technical advance, to have the greatest aviation, the largest stadiums, etc. Figures are always uncertain in South America and are generally exaggerated.

This national consciousness corresponds to the fact that foreign dependence is so painfully felt. It is not only that these countries are financially weak, so that only those in the north-west that have opened their economy to North American capital are experiencing a booming economy while the ABC states are struggling with crises. But beyond that, the whole economic and technical development is being accomplished by immigrants or their sons. What would São Paulo be without its Japanese, Chile without its Germans or Argentina without its Italians? (They are quickly assimilated.) It is known that the immigrants, their abilities, their industry and their dependability are indispensable. So they are tolerated. But all the more in the question of schools they are forced to submit before the national pride and let their children be absorbed by the nation. Since a majority of the immigrants came to South America for material reasons, cultural factors do not cause them to raise opposition. And since they want to put their roots down in South America they believe they must give in to the predominance of the new land.

4. South America has the desire to be at the very top of technical development, and if possible to surpass North America. There is a general awareness of belonging to a continent of the future and there is an unlimited admiration of technology, which is looked upon as the door to future. It is understandable that this attitude precipitates in a materialistic tendency. There is a certain corresponding lack of feeling for history as well. This indicates that South America is a young continent. Political decisions are almost always the decisions of small cliques supporting the fact that, in the political area, conditions prevail which for the Western world lie far in the past. The population takes no part in political changes, and these have no importance for world politics. In many respects South America lives an isolated, non-historical

existence. A contributing factor is also the distance from the political and intellectual current of the rest of the world. One often meets the attitude: "That doesn't concern us; it's too far away." One is aware of events but is not touched by them.

For individuals, like nations, are only concerned with their individual destiny, giving shape to their material existence. The geographical area in which the South American lives is gigantic. Material tasks are far from solved so that these are the questions that concern him. Little opportunity is left for participating intellectually in world events. As it is, everything intellectual is strongly recessive. Academic professions are not held in high respect. Despite this fact, or just because of it, intellectually alive and often very hungry groups can be found in the cities.

5. The last, but for the religious situation particularly important, observation is that the continent on the one hand is gripped by a cold, materialistically conditioned process of secularization, but on the other hand the position of the Catholic church and its spiritual power is unshaken. In Brazil positivism which was dominant up to the first World War has been superseded by materialism. For example, at the university of São Paulo, books like those of K. F. von Weizsäcker are not taken seriously at all. Or to describe the effect of secularism on the people: in the cities only very few people cross themselves when passing a church. And in Uruguay on the calendar one finds for Dec. 25 instead of "Christmas" "Family Day", and in Holy Week "Tourist Week". At the same time in Perón's Argentina, as troops marched by a statue of the Virgin the commander placed a decoration on it. In the schools of many countries pressure is put on the children to participate in Catholic worship. Even in free Brazil the Catholic church is attempting to get the school monopoly in its hands, and Protestant circles generally do not wish to come into conflict with the Catholic church, the Catholic population or Catholic opinion. It is significant that the War Academy in Rio, a highly important factor in national life, has pointed out that the Roman Catholic religion is fundamental for the nation and that Protestantism is a national danger.

This coincidence of secular disbelief and Catholic form has a very disadvantageous effect in South America. It leads to an

intellectual lack of productivity. Intellectual contradictions are not brought to dear decision, but are dragged along unresolved. What is lacking is a brisk wind to tear away the mass of clouds to let new intellectual light break through. Neothomism, whose influence is growing especially in the universities, can hardly be expected to be such a creative breeze.

This non-historical, youthful country, nevertheless, still bears the marks of an ancient history. This distinguishes it from North America. The subjugation by the conquistadors and the Christianization which took place at the same time have plotted the course. The influence of the church was unlimited for centuries and one is amazed coming to the north-west coast to find how well the Indians have been impregnated by Catholic faith, though in its magical form. In Quito the result has been a thorough union of Roman Catholicism, Spanish culture and Indian folkways. And in addition, Catholicism with its cult of the saints and the superstitious practices and ceremonies of folk-religion have been amalgamated into an inseparable conglomeration. Even in Rio is heard often enough late Friday nights from the Negro quarters the muffled music that accompanies the ceremonies of Macumba magic.

The situation of Protestantism is varied according to the regime in power, but also according to the vigor of Protestantism.

In *Brazil* Protestantism enjoys a great deal of freedom. With an estimated 2 million members, 4% of the population, it represents a considerable group. In addition there are a million spiritualists, who as non-Catholics are generally lumped with the Protestants. The Pentecostal movement has the largest part in the missionary endeavor, spreading quickly among the lowest social strata. It is extremely active among the Negro population. Then come the Baptists. The Methodists and the Presbyterians reach the middle classes but are also quite active. The Presbyterians in Sao Paulo support a school system with 5,000 pupils which bears the name McKenzie University because at the top of the system there is a philosophical and engineering faculty. In addition the Presbyterians have put forth a number of university professors and men in political life so that their public influence is considerable. This group, not including the spiritualists

and Pentecostals, have united in a loose council, in which the Presbyterians are the intellectual leaders and have the strongest active posts. It should be mentioned that the supply of New Testaments in Portuguese does not meet the demand.

The Lutherans have a loose connection with the others, it is true, but with some reservation. They have the feeling that the others who have come mostly from the US are of another spirit and ought to be reckoned among the sects. A more important difference is the fact that the others not only work directly among the Brazilian population and therefore use Portuguese exclusively, but also stand very much in the stream of Brazilian life and therefore also in a much sharper conflict with the Catholic church. The Lutheran church, as long as it limits itself to the European immigrants and does not interfere in the situation in the country is tolerated by the Catholics. This is generally looked upon as positive by the Lutherans who want to preserve the situation. So they take part only with hesitation in ecumenical contact.

The place of Protestantism in *Argentina* cannot as yet be assessed. Argentina is a hyperpolitical country. Under Peron Protestantism was tolerated during recent years just because it is antagonistic to the Catholic church. Recent developments, through the forced resignation of President Lonardi, have applied the brakes to a development similar to that of Franco's Spain and give reason for hope that a liberal regime will allow the Protestant churches the necessary freedom.

This freedom is not being granted to Protestants in *Columbia*. Three different factors are involved; the totalitarian regime which grabbed power in 1949, the intractable character of the people and the intolerance of the Catholic church. The effect is that Protestant churches and Christians, the farther they live from Bogota, the capital, the more they are subjected to an incalculable though only occasionally erupting terrorization by the population and to the chicanery of administrative officials. In May 1955 in the interior five persons belonging to the Pentecostal movement were found murdered. It must be born in mind, however, that the missionary methods of many of the Protestant denominations must have a provoking effect, as, for example, when pamphlets are distributed in front of

Catholic churches describing the church as being befallen of Satan. A majority of the Protestant congregations have till now been unable to achieve public legal recognition. This is also true of our Evangelical Lutheran congregations.

In *Chile* Protestantism can develop freely. The German Evangelical church is thought of as the church of the Germans and therefore something apart. Other Protestant groups are working zealously among the Spanish-speaking population. All of these groups are called *Canutos*. *Canutos* are gladly chosen as workers and employees because of their high ethical standard. In contrast to certain Chilean national characteristics they do not steal and are trustworthy. But the Evangelical Germans do not want to have anything to do with the *Canutos* since co-operation with them could put the German Evangelical church in a bad light, lead them into controversy with the Catholic church and arouse the impression that it also is a sect.

5. In *Peru*, *Ecuador* and *Venezuela* the Lutheran congregations, within the obvious superiority of the Catholic church in the country, appeared to me to have sufficient freedom to be able to develop. I did not find very close contact between the Lutheran congregations and the other denominations, apart from the fact that in Guayaquil Lutheran worship takes place in a native mission church whose size was remarkable. It seats 1,000 and is supposed to be filled each Sunday.

To sum up it can be said that Protestantism is still in a pronounced minority. Large missionary successes are being achieved by the spiritualists and Pentecostals among the lowest strata of the people, especially among the Negroes. On the other hand there has been extraordinarily trifling success among the intellectuals and wealthy classes. Protestantism has exercised intellectual or cultural influence till now only in Brazil, above all in the strongly European city of Sao Paulo and in the province of Rio Grande do Sul.

The question arises: In South America, in this continent full of accumulated tensions which sooner or later will have to be resolved, will the evangelical groups, especially the Lutheran church, become a creative cultural and intellectual center which will, at least on its part, pioneer new solutions? The right perspective will

have to be maintained: We cannot demand that a minority like the Evangelical church in South America give new impulse to the whole continent. Its work will always take place very quietly. The Evangelical church will not proceed to make all of South America evangelical. Naturally we shall have the Gospel to offer to all who need it and in doing so we shall have to cross many frontiers which hinder us today. But even so we ought not negatively combat and reject the Catholic church, so problematic as the form of South American Catholicism seems even to Catholic immigrants from Central Europe. For the Evangelical church has a positive responsibility for the large Catholic church in South America. It is well-known that everywhere where Catholicism is confronted by a pure proclamation of the Gospel and vital Evangelical congregations Catholicism itself has profited. The Catholic church was then forced to reflect upon the Gospel and in doing so experienced a regeneration. Catholicism in South America has been spared just such reflection and regeneration since it was not confronted by the proclamation of the Gospel. Secularism it could simply dismiss as disbelief and from within the position it had thus once taken, attempt to assert itself against it. As Lutheran Christians we cannot wish the collapse of the Catholic church in South America, but rather we would welcome its regeneration. A regenerated Catholic church could meet with another inner power the great problems which this continent will not be able to deflect much longer.

That is why the Lutheran church can best meet its responsibility by strengthening its own congregations. This must first be spiritual. Only a joyous Lutheran church, certain of its evangelical possession, can be significant for South America. Here we are presented with a large and responsible task, for the congregations need the support of their home church and spiritual stimulus from outside. There is much which has led to new life in Europe that they have not experienced. In addition there must be a concern to develop an evangelical theology in Spanish and Portuguese which will enter the intellectual and cultural fray and also find notice in Catholic circles. I experienced more than once the fact that members of other protestant denominations sought information on Lutheran theology in

Europe, its conclusions and literary results. Even translations could mean much. In the new Lutheran faculty at Buenos Aires zealous concern is being devoted in this direction.

But more important than books are men. If theologians with our much more differentiated orientations and methods would grow into the life of South America and its problems and then, together with those living there, struggle for solutions, the resultant effect could be of significance for the whole continent. But even each pastor who devotes his life to a South American congregation performs an important service. For in many ways South America long has lain intellectually fallow and is yet virgin land. It is time that the Evangelical churches turn the same interest toward South America as they have done for over a century in regard to the mission fields in Asia and Africa.

Wilhelm Hahn

The Lutheran Theological Seminary, Buenos Aires

At the second Conference of the Lutheran Churches of South America in Petropolis, Brazil (see the report by Earl S. Erb in *Lutheran World*, Vol. I, No. 3, Autumn 1954, pp. 238 ff.), one of the points of greatest interest on the extensive agenda was the new Theological Seminary.

The discussion brought out the great need for a Spanish-speaking seminary. The Lutheran churches and missions which are associated with the Lutheran World Federation did not have any institutions for the training of Spanish-speaking pastors. We are quite used to hearing about "growing Lutheranism in South America". The Lutheran World Federation and especially its Latin American Division (LWF/LA), the National Lutheran Council in the United States, and the various groups of Lutheran missionaries are working together to extend Lutheranism, and at the same time they are trying to find and send pastors to this field. In this task these groups are working side by side with the existing synods.

The mission boards send missionaries here. The churches and the LWF/LA are trying to find pastors for this work in the USA and, especially, in Europe. Many

European pastors who accept the call to South America are men who belong to one of the several refugee groups of European Lutherans. However, the question can be asked: Does world Lutheranism fulfil its responsibility with this "pastor import"?—The answer is, no.

The "pastor import" has its great benefits. These pastors work for the church and feel responsible for their work. The spirit of the missionaries is true to their call, and they are willing to make sacrifices. They are learning Spanish and will leave behind them a fine, indigenous work. They have the experience of the dynamic church life of North America and are working on the field with that same spirit. The "imported pastors" of Europe have the task of finding and organizing immigrants who have the same background as themselves. A pastor of this group has not lost contact with the valuable tradition of original European theology.

But we must face the situation as we find it. These "imported pastors" can never be the solution to our Lutheran work in South America; the "imported pastors" are men of the *present*, but not of the *future*.

The missionary can work with his whole heart here; nevertheless, he will always be a man who, in the first place, is tied to the mission board, and only in the second place to the local church. He is thinking in terms of a 5 or 6 year term and not of his entire life as a pastor here. He will perhaps return once or twice, but just as he arrives at the best years of his life as a pastor—when he has 15 or 20 years' experience—he will return to his home church and country.

The European pastor will never forget Europe and can hardly accept any other kind of work and activity, organization and way of living different from those he had learned to know in his own church and country. His ideal of a pastor, a congregation, a teacher, or a professor of theology, is unreal because it has no connection with the situation in which he finds himself. He is, and will remain, a man of the first generation, not very often one of the second, and only rarely one of the third.

If one goes shopping in Argentina, the articles sold in the shops are recommended with the magical formula "This is imported, Sir". "Imported" is equivalent to "excellent", etc. However, some of the South American countries, like Argentina, are making their own goods and are trying to improve their

quality, for which they do a great deal of advertising.

This should be the plan for the church too. We have to prepare and educate the pastors for the people who are living here, and have their homes here—pastors who are sons of these people. Such a pastor will be much better than an "imported" one—not for the United States or for Europe, but surely for South America. He knows the culture and the history of these countries. He is a son of them. He grew up here and the Lutheran church in South America will truly grow through his work.

Now the Spanish-speaking theological seminary is a reality. It is a joint work, a Lutheran work. The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America, through the Argentine Church, the LWF/LA and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (North America) are taking the main part in the support of the Seminary, but the following churches regularly give their support too: the German Evangelical La Plata Synod of Argentina, the German Evangelical Church in Chile, and the Lutheran congregations in Venezuela and Uruguay. Smaller contributions have arrived from some congregations in Argentina, and from individuals. For the establishment of the library, gifts have been received from Argentina, from various North American pastors, from the Danish National Committee of LWF, from the "Martin-Luther-Bund" and the "Gustav-Adolf-Verein" in Germany. It also seems that we may expect more participation and help in this project.

At present the professors are: Prof. Witthaus, Prof. Antony, and the Rector, Pastor Leskó.

The background of the first six students already shows how this seminary can serve the various Lutheran bodies. Two of them, Juan Cobrda and Federico Held, belong to Argentina's United Evangelical Lutheran Church; Alfredo Jensen comes from the independent Danish congregation in Necochea, Argentina; Dieter Knoblauch from the German La Plata Synod, Argentina; Hansruedi Peplinski from the LWF/LA work in Valencia, Venezuela; and Rodrigo Quintero from the Evangelical Lutheran Church's mission in Colombia.

We have just finished the first year and the students have taken their first examinations; in general they did well, very

well. In the meantime the second semester is under way. Prof. Antony is teaching Greek, Introduction to the New Testament, and Bible; Prof. Witthaus teaches History of Philosophy; and Prof. Leskó teaches Introduction to Theology and Church History. The students do practical work in the New Testament, in Philosophy, and the Church History classes.

Prof. Witthaus and some special teachers give language instruction to the students. Thus five are studying English, five German, and two, because they are new immigrants, must perfect their Spanish. Every week there is a gym class, and an "informal evening at home"—both led by the rector.

Every morning before classes begin we have a short worship service, led in the first semester by the professors and in the second by the students and professors. The students must present their sermonettes to the rector a week beforehand, and he helps them by consultation and correction to prepare themselves for this very important pastoral work.

Every student has been sent to one of our congregations where he receives practical training in the work of a pastor by helping with the Luther League meetings, in the Sunday School, etc.

The seminary professors are planning to publish a theological yearbook, which will contain articles by the professors themselves, by other theologians, as well as translations of interesting theological works. They feel that this yearbook is a step in the right direction for a Spanish-language Lutheran theological review.

In our thoughts and prayers the second year of our work is always present. It will be a wonderful day when we can leave our provisional premises and move into our beautiful new building. We hope to have five or six new students for next year, and thus, growing year by year, to fill the 30 places in our new home.

Béla Leskó

Germany

The New Book of Order

I

In the 19th century the Lutheran church in Germany was faced with the task of

bringing to a halt the disintegration of the life of worship. In order to check the force of insufficient and even erroneous understanding of worship as edification (Pietism), as an opportunity for the moral education of humanity (the Enlightenment) or as a festive self-presentation of the faith of the church (Schleiermacher), the men who were concerned about giving new form to worship consciously took up the heritage of the period of the Reformation and Post-Reformation. "All liturgies and *Agenden* [Books of Order] appearing in our time are as if shot from a pistol... We must, if something is to become of the matter, go back to Father Luther." These words of Friedrich Wilhelm III, the liturgics expert on the Prussian throne, are not only appropriate for his famous "Church *Agende* for the Court Chapel and Cathedral in Berlin" (1822) but also for the endeavors and accomplishments of Löhe (Neuendettelsau), Höfling (Erlangen), Harless (Munich), Schöberlein (Erlangen, Heidelberg, Göttingen), Kliefoth (Mecklenburg) and others.

By skipping over the time of disintegration a good point of departure was now created. Nevertheless, the liturgical efforts of the 19th century could not go beyond certain limits. The movement for renewal recognized, it is true, that a reform of the order of service on the basis of the heritage of the Reformation was necessary; not, however, sufficiently *how* this was to be undertaken in detail. So it happened for example that the minister became the only active substitute functionary for choir, cantor, lector and others who have offices in the liturgical ministry. The musical settings of the individual elements, too, were only partly left in original form and were made to fit the taste of the time and so not exactly improved. And the renewal movement found itself unable really to introduce into the congregation the orders which it knew to be necessary.

So the 19th century, in view of the life of worship, was an epoch of transition and compromise. The new *Agenden*, it is true, had the effect of gradually repressing irrelevant ideas on worship among ministers and people, but the churches were not yet able fully to adopt the "new, old" or "old, new" orders, and to make the corresponding changes in the customs of worship. On the contrary, retrogression can be observed in

various areas (as for example in Bavaria in going from one edition of the *Agende* to the other from 1856 to 1917), a certain resignation, evidence that the noble flight of the beginning had been crippled.

This situation, persisting for decades, and aggravated by *Agenden* such as that of Arper-Zillesen, was gradually changed only *after the first World War*. At that time the total change in evangelical theology did not fail to leave its mark on practical theology, too. It affected the liturgy as it did the new understanding of preaching, catechetics, church architecture and ecclesiastical art. Since this time there has been deeper delving than that of the hymnologists and liturgists of the 19th century. Whoever compares, for example, the works of Schöberlein from the middle of the previous century with the *Handbuch der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, the great source work which appeared 15 years ago, will be strongly impressed by this change.

The historical research in the liturgy, the systematic reflection on the nature of Lutheran worship, and works in the area of biblical theology thoroughly complemented one another. This period was unleashed not least because of the results of such well grounded scholarship. It was a period which we can hardly imagine today, of uncertain groping and of joy in discovering again and again new liturgies and orders.

The Brotherhood of St. Michael and the whole Berneuchen movement, since their origin, primarily under the leadership of Wilhelm Stählin and Karl-Bernhard Ritter, have been concerned with the right form of the life of worship but also about "worship in all of life", the radiation of that which takes place in worship into all of life's areas.

The church struggle after 1933 meant a decisive step for the efforts on behalf of evangelical worship. It discovered in the area of worship what was stale and decayed, but pointed up, too, that what happens in worship could become a decisive factor for the whole church in her controversy with her enemies. Under outside pressure the congregations again learned to listen to the Word, to pray and confess in common and to value anew the Reformation chorale. The three Lutheran "Pact Churches", Hannover, Württemberg and Bavaria, began preparations in 1936 for a common *Agende*. This activity was condemned to a standstill in 1942 by the war

situation. The year before, Ernst Wolf and Martin Albertz published a Reformed book of church order, "Order for the Assembly of German-language Congregations Reformed according to the Word of God". The work of the three "Pact Churches" was taken up again after the end of the war by the Lutheran Liturgical Conference, under the chairmanship of Christhard Mahrenholz. In it were united Lutherans from all over Germany, members of the United Ev. Luth. Church as well as of the United Churches. This Conference is becoming more and more the arena in the struggle between theological research and church practice. It was concerned at first with two great responsibilities: the creation of a unified hymnal for German Evangelical Christians; and the reform of the *Agende* for the life of worship, to strive in this point too for the greatest possible unity.

II

The *United Evangelical Lutheran Church* has consciously made these two responsibilities its own. In its constitution it is expressly stated that its member churches manifest the desire to arrive at greater unity in the area of worship, (Art. 4) and to create and adopt a German Evangelical hymnal and a German Lutheran *Agende* which are to be introduced in the member churches (Art. 5).

In the meantime the *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch* has come into being and has been introduced in almost all German territorial churches (in Lutheran, United and Reformed churches). With its core of 394 hymns common to all editions and the various supplements and appendices of the individual territorial churches, it unites in a healthy way the viewpoints both of unity and variety of territorial heritage.

Zealous work is being done on the *Agende*. A comparison with the works of the 19th century shows that these, mostly of one or two volumes, contained really only minimal orders. Everything not absolutely necessary and everything seeming superfluous in any way was not included. That is why particular areas are only selectively included in these works; the Bavarian *Agende* contains, for example, only sketchy and incomplete propers and the same is true for musical settings for choir, ministers and congregation. Some services had not been taken into account, as for

example, evangelical services for the hours of the day. As a result of this "light pack" an abundance of private liturgical works was produced to fill the gaps as far as possible.

The Lutheran Liturgical Conference, in contrast, set as its task to take into account all the extensive areas of the life of worship and to offer a good order for every occasion. So the *Agende* is appearing in four volumes. Volume I, to which we shall return in more detail below, contains the orders for the chief service with sermon and Holy Communion and the other preaching and Communion services. In Volume II are offered the orders for the hours—matins, sext, vespers and compline—for the celebration of Easter Eve, for children's services, and others. Volume III embraces the occasional services, for the various forms of baptism, confirmation, reception of a convert, the readmission of one who had left the church, marriage, confession, sick communion, the churching of women, and burial.

The orders for ordination, installation and consecration are included in Volume IV, accepted at the 1950 General Synod at Anspach and since then introduced in the member churches.

III

Intensive work had been done on *Volume I of the Agende* for more than five years. Up until the acceptance of this volume by the General Synod of the United Ev. Luth. Church at Brunswick in 1954, the leaders and synods of the member churches, the clergy and the total church public had been informed about the progress of the work and geared into it. The year 1951 saw the appearance of the first proposal with a detailed and noteworthy preface by Prof. Mahrenholz in two parts, the Ordinary¹ and the Propers². A third part which appeared in 1953 presented proposed orders for the other services. The many communications, criticisms and proposals for change were then published in a fourth part. After final thorough consideration a fifth part of the proposal was prepared which, at the same time, was laid before the 1954 General

1 The Ordinary is the permanent basic order of the liturgy.

2 The Propers are the parts of the liturgy that vary within the Church Year according to seasons and days.

Synod at Brunswick. From among the decisions of the General Synod concerning *Agende I*, the following should be mentioned. The sets of supplemental preaching texts were to be fixed at a later time. At the introduction of the *Agende* the member churches are given the possibility to adopt an additional ordinary of their own, binding in their own territories, and to include additional elements and musical settings corresponding to their previous traditions. Six parts basic to the Ordinary must not be changed:

- a) The preparatory prayers to occur, first, where used;
- b) the Psalm-Introit, where sung;
- c) Kyrie, Gloria and collect to be a unit (i. e. the previous widely practiced connection of Kyrie and Gloria with the Confiteor and "Absolution" will thus be dropped.);
- d) the double Scripture reading with the hymn of the week between the lessons;
- e) sermon hymn after the sermon;
- f) the form of Communion to follow either Luther's *Deutsche Messe* or the Nuremberg-Brandenburg Church Order.

The member churches can add propers for special occasions not included in *Agende I*.

Corresponding to the view no longer to hand over the individual functions exclusively to the ministers, the *Agende* will appear in various editions. For the altar a large edition is provided, for the pulpit *Agende*. For the preparation of the clergy there is a small study edition containing all parts of the service. An extract from this is given in an edition for congregational use—as it were a counterpart to the Roman "Schott" [a missal for the laity]. This congregational edition, again in extract, is provided as a supplement to the hymnal. For the choir there is the cantionale and for the lessons at the lectern there is the lectionary. Meanwhile the editions for the pastor (Study Edition) and for the congregation (Congregational Edition) have appeared from the Lutherisches Verlagshaus, Berlin.

The "directions for the use of *Agende I*" contain in 84 rubrics detailed stipulations for the various parts of the service and represent a source for liturgical law and the distribution of jurisdiction to the territorial church, the congregation, the pastor and the cantor. The first rubric, important for the right use of the *Agende*, is determined both by the demand for similar

forms for the sake of love, and also by the demand for evangelical liberty, taking unity into consideration yet avoiding every kind of casuistically prescribed uniformity, to prevent the usual objections that are always heard that in this point a rigid liturgical law is being laid down to strangle the life of liberty. It says,

"Liturgical rubrics are not rigid law but good order. In order to guard against wilfulness, to help pastors and congregations to hold worship in a relevant and worthy way . . . For the sake of the community and Christian love commanded us, there should be divergence only in case of necessity and for pressing reasons".

The Calendar, in three parts, contains all of the days and feasts to be celebrated in the Evangelical church and it is at the same time a guide for the use of the propers. It includes the color of the day, a splendid introduction by Wilhelm Stählin, and the introit, epistle, gradual, gradual hymn, gospel and proper preface of the day.

The Ordinary contains rubrics that permit so many possibilities for amplification that the *Agende* can be put to good use in a cathedral like St. Lawrence, Nuremberg, or in the simplest diaspora congregation.

That the so-called "mass type"³ is not the only service that can be said to be Lutheran is clearly indicated from the fact that the Württemberg preaching service—also to be traced to Lutheran tradition—has been included as a fully valid order.

IV

The significance of *Agende I* can be seen to be sixfold:

1) *Agende I* is a crucible for theological research. It releases the insights of the theologians concerning the Sacrament, the Word and prayer from a mere academic vacuum, it prevents them from perhaps being lost, and it helps them become fruitful for the whole church down to the last village congregation.

2) The *Agende* helps the church to make an important contribution to her understanding of herself as the Body of Christ. In worship from now on, the whole congregation will be consciously active, beginning with the one or more pastors who share in the service, including the cantor, the lector, the choir and the congregation

³ The service with sermon and Holy Communion.

with its hymns, canticles, acclamations and "Amen" to the proclamation and prayer, down to the service of the church elders who collect the thank-offering, the sacristan, the sexton, and the young people of the congregation who often act as ushers. If today there is general recognition that there must be a break with the "one-man system", this is obviously done in the *Agende*. Worship according to the new *Agende* will be an important model for the other activities of the church and all her members in public life. The fact that the *Agende* is closely connected with the gradual introduction of stewardship in Germany is a sign that here there is really more than academic and restorative ivory-tower dilettantism.

3) The new *Agende* brings the Word and Sacrament in the Evangelical church again in polar tension. Of course our church is and remains the "church of the Word". But from now on this can no longer mean in practice an antithesis to the Sacrament. The Sacrament is no longer a dispensable appendix, a private arrangement for only a few, but next to the proclamation of the Word it becomes the second high point in the service. There is therefore an attempt to make superfluous the announcement, "After the service there will be a celebration of the Holy Communion". It may be hoped that this may be an essential contribution for overcoming the lack of attendance at Holy Communion.

Proclamation, however, is not therefore put in the background. True, the Ordinary shows that it embraces more than the sermon of the minister; to proclamation also belong the lessons and the gradual hymn, which in historical form is to a large extent a hymn of proclamation, and the creed. The distinction between the sacramental and sacrificial in worship, derived from the Apology of the Augsburg Confession which the Erlangen theology of the last century emphasized, in a new way offers us a key to understand much of what happens in worship. It is also characteristic that the structure of the service no longer recognizes a chasm between the "Vorgottesdienst" up to the creed but includes in the service of the Word those parts from the epistle to the sermon hymn after the sermon.

Evangelical church music, which from now on can once more find a connection with its great tradition before J. S. Bach, is anchored again in the service. The choirs

are no longer in the fatal position of having to offer mere "filler for beautification" but can gear themselves in many ways to that which happens in worship as a part of the congregation. It has already been pointed out that the cantor will again become active in a liturgical ministry. The contemporary composers—no longer third or fourth class musicians as in the 19th century—know again what their work is and why. A glance into the wealth of new literature since Kurt Thomas and Hugo Distler shows how the liturgical reorientation has given impulse to creative composition. In the same way church art concerns not just parameters, but has been given definite responsibility in worship. The same can be said for evangelical church architecture. The "Rummelsberger Grundsätze" [Rummelsberg Basic Propositions] of the Evangelical Conference on Church Architecture⁴ are an example.

5) Also the significance of the new *Agende* for inter-church relations should not be underestimated. With all the tensions that exist in the Evangelical Church in Germany the *Agende* is proving itself to be a bond of unity between Lutherans in the United Evangelical Lutheran Church and those in the Union churches. Moreover, there are various encouraging signs that it is having effect also in Baden and the Palatinate. The sociological significance of a unified *Agende* in view of the large change in population in Germany after the war should not go unmentioned.

6) Likewise this *Agende* is constantly proving to be a unifying bond between German and non-German Lutheranism and the total *oikumene*. It is helping German Protestantism reflect on its genuine evangelical catholicity and renounce a protesting Protestantism where it does not belong.

Of course growing into *Agende I* is not taking place without friction. Those responsible and farsighted are faced with the task of making the congregations open to the new order and making them feel at home in it, a task which demands much love and patience. It will force the church with her various theological directions and currents to come to terms with that which is new. It is to be hoped that if the discussions are carried on pertinently and with patience many an ungentle "either/or" like "folk mission or liturgy", "pietistic or

⁴ In *Leiturgia: Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, Vol. I, pp. 409ff.

Lutheran piety", can be resolved into a fruitful "and". In the same way the unjustified fear of "catholicizing tendencies" or the suspicion that evangelical freedom may be constricted by the *Agende* as a rigid "order" can be overcome.

With the appearance of *Agende I* the abundance of tasks is not yet surmounted, but rather placed anew before the church. That we may confidently grapple with them in the knowledge that thereby a good and necessary service is being rendered is the hope of all who recognize and value the significance of the *Agende*. The statement of the late Erlangen theologian Werner Elert with which he opened the discussion before acceptance of *Agende I* at the General Synod at Brunswick gives encouragement to surmount these tasks: "The acceptance of this order of service is worth a Te Deum of the Lutheran church."

Heinrich Riedel

Near East

Lutheran Activities

Lutheran work in Palestine started over a hundred years ago when German missionaries, teachers and deaconesses came to the Holy Land. Their institutions grew larger and larger until they finally became the most influential in the country. Lutheran congregations grew up not only in Jerusalem and Bethlehem but also in a number of other places in Palestine and boys' and girls' schools became attached to the work of the local congregations.

After the first World War the work began to suffer greatly; it was no longer so easy to get the needed support from the mother church in Germany, and during the second World War all stations had to be closed. German missionaries were interned by the British, who then held Palestine as a mandated territory.

During the Arab-Israeli war most of the German mission stations were lost and became occupied by the Jews, and a great number of our Lutheran Palestinians became refugees. A century of German missionary endeavor was in danger of extinction until

1947 when the Lutheran World Federation came to the rescue with emergency assistance.

Before giving a picture of the Lutheran World Federation's activities in the Near East today, it might be helpful to give a few statistics as background for understanding the present situation:

Of the approximately 900,000 registered refugees about 845,000 are receiving food rations from United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Half of the 900,000 refugees are less than 15 years of age. Roughly 335,000 people live in UNRWA-operated camps. The remainder have found other accommodations. Although about 245,000 refugees live in UNRWA-built simple shelters, mud-huts, etc. about 95,000 are still living in tents.

From Palestine the refugees have scattered over the Arab countries as follows:

105,000	Lebanon
88,000	Syria
482,000	Jordan
225,000	Gaza District

The Gaza District is a strip of coastal sand dunes of 125 sq. miles and is under Egyptian military administration. In this small area 300,000 Palestinians are crowded, of whom 225,000 are refugees.

UNRWA defines a Palestinian refugee this way:

- a) He must have lost his place of normal residence as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War;
- b) He must have lost his means of livelihood;
- c) He must be in need.

Apart from these 900,000 officially recognized Palestinian refugees there are — especially in West Jordan — thousands of other Palestinians who are called "economic refugees" who qualify only on b) and c) above. They are just as badly off and sometimes even worse off than those officially recognized. Though not coming within the official definition refugees, the economic refugees are suffering very greatly because of the partition of Palestine. First among them are the professional and business class, owners of houses, stores, factories, etc. In the big cities there are also the owners of orange groves, farms, olive gardens, orchards, etc. These are now occupied by the Jews. To this group also belong hundreds of small government employees. They were never

rich, but they had their daily bread from their work in governmental offices. They have now lost nearly all their income.

The most miserable economic refugees are, however, the inhabitants of the villages along the UN armistice line which now divides Palestine into Israel and Jordan. These people still live in their own houses but their farms, their orange groves, olive trees, etc. are on the other side of the armistice line *i. e.* in Jewish hands. The inhabitants of these border villages, while sitting in their own houses, can see daily how the Israelis till their land, sow and harvest their crop, but they cannot cross the armistice line to pick the fruits of their own orchards and have no income possibility. They are usually situated far from the cities and thus unable to find any employment. It is among those people in the border villages, the poorest of the poor, that the Lutheran World Federation in Jerusalem is especially interested and active.

UNRWA is doing its best to find for the refugees living accommodation outside the big camps. But in spite of its efforts to keep the size and the number of the camps down to a minimum, there is a growing number of Palestinians who find it too difficult to continue taking care of themselves outside camps. They have been refugees for almost eight years and all that they might have brought with them when they escaped has now been used. As their means of existence are exhausted they turn to UNRWA in order to be accepted and admitted into an organized refugee camp. UNRWA cannot accept them all, and the result is that a great number of these extremely poor Palestinians have to live in primitive shelter in caves, and old rock tombs. There are plenty of cave-dwellers on the Mount of Olives, in the Kidron Valley and on the way to Bethlehem. Some 1,900 poor Palestinians still live in slums in primitive huts which they have built of empty gasoline cans in the harbor area of Beirut.

UNRWA is responsible for the shelter and food of the Palestinian refugees. The basic food ration consists of flour, sugar, oil, margarine, rice and some dried vegetables and gives the refugees approximately 1600 calories per day during the winter and 1500 during the summer. In addition to providing dry rations to the refugees in general at the beginning of each month,

UNRWA also gives children under one year old 2½ pounds of whole milk and children from 1-15, together with nursing women, 2¼ pounds of skimmed milk per month. The great majority of refugees have to supplement their dry rations with meat, fruit, eggs, etc. These are grown by themselves, exchanged for part of their rations or bought from their small or very irregular earnings.

Can't the Palestinian refugees find work and thus become self-supporting? Before answering this question one has to remember that approximately 90% of Jordan is stony mountain or desert land which cannot be cultivated. The Gaza strip is entirely desert land. Lebanon is a very small country which, to a great extent, lives from tourism. It has its own problem of unemployment and hundreds of young Lebanese migrate each year to find work in overseas countries, yet the population of Lebanon was increased by at least 10% by the arrival of over 100,000 Palestinians in 1948, and that of Jordan by 50%! Every third person in Jordan is a refugee. The refugees are strangers, although they live in Arab speaking countries.

The Arab refugee problem is a world problem and cannot be settled by the Arab countries themselves. Palestine was divided by the UN and therefore the Palestinian refugees are mainly the responsibility of the UN. During my more than 14 years with prisoners-of-war and refugees of many nationalities in several different countries I have never seen people living under such destitute and inhuman conditions as do thousands of Palestinians today.

A very large number of Palestinian refugees still have a strong desire to return to their homeland. It is a fact that the eight years of exile have not diminished this longing of the Palestinians. It is true that at times this sentiment is being stirred up for political ends and not always in the interest of the refugees themselves. But nevertheless, this emotion is, in my opinion, very natural and understandable and it is strong.

With this background of understanding let us now turn to the activities of LWF among the Palestinian refugees. The annual report of the director of UNRWA for 1954 gives the following tribute:

"One of the most important and indispensable contributions of the voluntary

agencies is the provision of clothing for the refugees. It has not so far been possible to stretch UNRWA's limited budget to cover this requirement and without the help of the voluntary agencies many of the refugees, after so many years away from their homes, possess not one stitch of clothing. UNRWA pays ocean freight and inland transportation on all the clothing imported into the host countries for distribution to the refugees."

This quotation mentions only one of the activities of the voluntary agencies, namely, the distribution of clothing. There are many other fields of our activity which are even more important. There are 25 different voluntary agencies working among Palestinian refugees. Most of them are small and are concerned with special groups of refugees. The biggest of the organizations are the Lutheran World Federation, the Pontifical Mission (the Roman Catholic relief agency), Church World Service and the Mennonite Central Committee.

LWF is the biggest relief agency working among refugees in the Near East after UNRWA. Its program of activity had been built up by Dr. Edwin Moll who was the Director of LWF in the Near East from 1947-54. Our work is divided into 4 departments: Ecclesiastical, Educational, Medical and Relief.

The Ecclesiastical Work: In 1946 LWF resumed the support and the supervision of the 3 Arab Lutheran congregations. During the second World War they were cut off from the support of their mother church in Germany and their pastors were obliged to teach school in order to make a living. Inevitably the congregations suffered and were like sheep without a shepherd. Dr. Moll organized the work again, received the necessary funds and brought the pastors back to their work in their churches and congregations. Today the Arab Lutheran congregation in Jerusalem is one of the largest Protestant churches in the Kingdom of Jordan. Similar congregations exist in Bethlehem and Beit Jala and there are two smaller ones in Ramallah and Beit Sahour. Four Arab Lutheran pastors serve these congregations on a full time basis under the supervision of a German dean ("Propst"). Support comes from the Department of World Missions of LWF and increasingly from the parent missionary society in Germany, *Palästinawerk*.

The Educational Work: Very large educational institutions of German Lutheran missions boards were lost in 1948, in Israel. Their work is today being continued although on a smaller scale in the Arab-held part of what is left of Palestine.

In 1949 LWF organized an orphanage for boys in the Lutheran "Christmas" Church building in Bethlehem and in 1950 an orphanage for girls in the parish house at Beit Jala. This last one is led by the Kaiserswerth deaconesses and marks the rebirth of the big institution *Talitha Kumi*. In these two orphanages 170 boys and 137 girls are at present being educated. The need for accepting more orphans is very great and pressing but the present accommodations do not allow it. Plans are being worked out to build a new and larger girls' orphanage to accommodate at least 200 children. Our two orphanages are supervised by the LWF Department of World Missions which also supports very heavily the work in our two elementary schools. One of these is in Jerusalem and has 200 students and the other serves 270 children in Beit Sahour, just outside Bethlehem. Approximately 65 % of all the children in our schools and orphanages are refugees and about one-third of them are Moslems.

From Jan. 1, 1955, the ecclesiastical and educational program was given back to the German mission board, *Palästinawerk*, but is still being supported by LWF.

The Department of World Service of LWF runs a home for the blind and a school for blind apprentices on the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem. There are at present 22 blind boys in our home; all except one are Moslems. They are taught to read the Braille system and after 4 or 5 years of elementary teaching they are accepted into our school of blind apprentices in which they are taught to make cane chairs, brushes, brooms, waste-paper baskets, etc. We also have a vocational training center on the Mount of Olives in which at present 27 boys are taught carpentry and blacksmithing. After three years of theoretical and practical training these boys have to take an examination. They get a certificate when they pass the examination and will then have to leave us to establish their own future. Almost all our apprentices who graduated so far have successfully entered into the economic life of Jordan and are able to take care of themselves and their families.

The educational program of LWF is the most constructive work which we are doing. The need for enlarging the institutions and for opening others, especially a secondary school, is very urgent and will be done as soon as the necessary means are available.

The Medical Work: Very extensive medical help is being given to the Palestinian refugees through the Augusta Victoria Hospital on the Mount of Olives and six polyclinics in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Beit Jala, Taybeth and Beit Sahour.

The Augusta Victoria Hospital is the largest hospital in the Near East outside Egypt and has a bed capacity of 385, of which 350 are constantly at the free disposal of Palestinian refugees. The hospital has six sections, a clinical laboratory and an X-ray department. The different sections are surgical, internal medicine, pediatrics, gynecology and obstetrics, infections diseases and pulmonary tuberculosis. A monthly subsidy is given by UNRWA for running the hospital for the refugees but it is directed and operated by LWF which also supports the hospital not only financially but also very heavily by donations of quantities of medicines, food supplies, kitchen utensils, linen, etc. A professional hospital administrator from Denmark is responsible for the daily running of the hospital and a Danish deaconess serves as matron, otherwise the members of the staff are all Arabs and Armenians. We have eleven doctors and about 130 nurses. This institution is well known all over the Middle East.

The following statistics will give an idea of the work which LWF is doing in the Augusta Victoria Hospital:

In 1955 11,300 patients were admitted
2,517 operations were performed
529 deliveries took place, and
8,918 X-rays were taken.

In our six polyclinics approximately 100,000 patients are treated annually. There is a doctor and a nurse in each clinic and in most of them a trained dispenser. If there is no dispenser the doctor gives the medicine. Over 85 % of the patients who come to our clinics are Moslems.

The Relief Work: Over five million dollars in cash and in kind have been spent for our relief work among refugees in Jordan since 1948. LWF help poor persons irrespective of creed or nationality and extends its aid to refugees of every category as well as to

non-refugees if they are in real need. Almost two million pieces of clothing have been distributed in these areas and large quantities of foodstuffs are continually being allotted to the refugees and the poor inhabitants of the border villages. Moslem soup-kitchens as well as those operated by the Eastern churches (Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Copts, Syrians and Abyssinians) are assisted by regular donations of our food supplies. These acts are widely known and appreciated.

LWF operates at the same time twelve milk centers in the border villages where approximately 18,000 people receive a daily ration of fluid milk. The recipients belong to the so-called "economic refugees" who are living on the Arab side of the 330 miles of armistice line and who have lost their livelihood completely. In Beit Sahour LWF runs a soup-kitchen which feeds about 450 children every day.

The following statistics of relief distribution in Jordan during the year 1955 will give you an idea of the tremendous material help which LWF extended to the poor and needy of this country:

2,038,312 lbs of food
28,520 parcels of clothing to approximately 150,000 persons
14,739 pairs of shoes.

The cash value of these relief goods was estimated at \$ 1,113,789.

Despite the widespread and many-sided activities of LWF the need among the refugees and other poor of Jordan continues to be terrific. There are still many villages and places where people in need do not feel the touch of a helping hand or hear a word of comfort and encouragement. Thousands of Palestinians still continue to suffer from hunger, deprivation and disease. We can only help as much as we receive. The more our Christian brothers and sisters in the Western world donate the more we can help. The policy of LWF has always been to help wherever it is necessary irrespective of race or creed. Therefore, 85—90 % of our relief recipients in Jordan are Moslems.

Nothing has yet been mentioned of the philanthropic work of the LWF among the 90,000 refugees in Syria. Our work in Syria is very much of the same kind as in Jordan although on a smaller scale.

The description of the conditions of the refugees in Jordan holds also for those of

Syria. At present LWF is the only voluntary agency working for Palestinian refugees in Syria, and the Syrian government has placed all its trust in LWF and asked us to help by the distribution of clothing and shoes to all the refugees. Since October 1952, when the Syrian government officially granted recognition of LWF, clothing has been distributed to 269,750 persons, which means that practically every refugee in the country received one parcel of clothing every year.

The five LWF clinics in Syria treat approximately 6,000 patients per month. Most of the necessary medicines for these clinics are prepared and delivered to us by the Danish Mission Hospital in Nebek, 50 miles north of Damascus.

Lastly it deserves to be mentioned that LWF in the Near East, by its employing approximately 420 persons in its tremendous and widespread program, directly supports 420 families by earnings of the working members. Practically all our staff members are refugees. In this way LWF has contributed somewhat to help solve the terrible question of unemployment, the direct result of the political conditions.

I feel that I cannot close this article without paying tribute to the efficiency and faithfulness of my co-workers in Jordan and Syria. I know they would not like such a tribute, for as they say in Arabic: "No thanks for the fulfillment of one's duties". They are thankful for being able to help

themselves and their destitute countrymen. They ask me on many occasions to extend their gratefulness to the many Lutheran churches and to the thousands of brothers and sisters in the US, Canada, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries who give so willingly and generously to the refugees of Palestine. Most of the refugees are full of admiration and gratitude for what the LWF is doing in Jordan and Syria. The need continues to be great and our appeal to the Christian people of the world is urgent. We believe that the statesmen at the UN are doing their very best to find a satisfactory and just solution to the question of Palestine and of the Palestinian refugees. But these people have not found any solution to the problem. While they are discussing the matter year after year at the General Assembly of the UN the refugees are starving and dying in their caves.

The task of the Christians in this situation is two-fold:

- 1) To continue to shout as loud as possible that wrong is being done, that there is a problem in Palestine which must be solved, and we must shout long enough until the conscience of the world awakens and finds a solution;

- 2) We are called upon to do our utmost in the service of mercy. By doing so it might be that we can inspire a few others to hurry to our assistance before it becomes too late.

Chris Christiansen

BOOK REVIEWS

On Luther's Theology

DIE TAUFBEIM JUNGEN LUTHER [*Baptism in the thought of the young Luther*]. By Werner Jetter. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1954.

LUTHER UND DIE SCHWÄRMER [*Luther and the enthusiasts*], *Theologische Studien*, No. 44. By K. G. Stech. Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1955.

DAS RINGEN LUTHERS UM DIE FREIHEIT DER THEOLOGIE VON DER PHILOSOPHIE [*Luther's struggle for theology's freedom from philosophy*], 2nd ed. By Wilhelm Link. Munich: Chr. Kaiser-Verlag, 1955.

DASS DER FREIE WILLE NICHTS SEI: ANTWORT D. MARTIN LUTHERS AN ERASMUS VON ROTTERDAM [*On the bondage of the will: Martin Luther's answer to Erasmus of Rotterdam*], *Ausgewählte Werke*, 3rd ed., supplementary vol. No. 1. Munich: Chr. Kaiser-Verlag, 1954.

Although there is on hand a wealth of literature on Luther's beginnings we still lack individual doctrinal, historical studies of how in certain points the so-called "Reformation break-through" showed itself and can be traced. For it was not only his insights on the doctrine of justification, which caused Luther to nail up his theses and led him to his first Reformation writings. Luther's struggle for right understanding of the total biblical message embraced other questions beside the problem of justification. That this is true can be seen just in those works which have provided the author of this book with the material for his study: the lectures on Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews from 1515 to 1518. Luther's break-through was no once for all event but began slowly and developed and unfolded in the course of teaching and study. In this point *Die Taufe beim jungen Luther* undoubtedly fills a gap.

Jetter shows the development of a cautious criticism up to the beginnings of a real Reformation view in "The doctrine of baptism in the thought of the young Luther". What is meant here is the pre-Reformation Luther, and perhaps this title would be more appropriate because the

division between the young und the old Luther—if such is to be made at all—is usually set at the year 1525. Therefore one should speak of a pre-Reformation Luther in a study like this that stops with 1518.

With this critical objection, however, no word is meant to be said against the value of this study. The author has understood to evaluate all the sources even where—say in the lecture on the Sentences—they are sparse, and to make them fruitful for the understanding of Luther's development up to his "Reformation break-through". It is thus surprising to see how early the Reformation approach becomes apparent in Luther's thought. Despite all restraint of expression at the beginning concerning the sacrament and despite his positive position in relation to the church doctrine of the sacraments.

Jetter traces this restraint not to the fact that Reformation thinking was basically uninterested in the sacrament. But he sees one reason in the protest monasticism as such made against the sacramental life of the contemporary church and in which Luther in becoming a monk acquiesced. This conclusion can, but need not be, right. At least I would raise the objection that Luther when entering the monastery did not consciously make this protest. The author writes that the disinterest which movements in the church at the time (nominalism, mysticism, *devotio moderna* and humanism) had toward the sacrament did not cause Luther's restraint but at most only furthered it. However, it is certain that Luther did not arrive at his high valuation of the Holy Scriptures without nominalism and this evaluation became decisive also for his doctrine of the sacraments.

After a detailed presentation of the doctrine of baptism from Augustine to Gabriel Biel, Jetter continues his study with an investigation of the significance of the sacrament for Luther. In this way he breaks with the general view that in Lutheran theology a definition of the sacraments generally only grows out of the sacraments themselves and dare not be placed before them. Luther himself later only spoke of individual sacraments and in the

Confessions there is no general definition of sacrament. It was only Lutheran orthodoxy which in this point followed Melancthon and retraced scholastic method by placing before the loci *de baptismo* and *de coena domini* a general definition of sacrament.

The pre-Reformation Luther, too, used scholastic method and generally spoke of baptism in connection with the sacraments. In reading the discussion on Luther himself the doctrinal history introduction proves itself of value, though many an objection could be raised against the author's criticism of Augustine, for example. But apart from this, the introduction lays bare the line leading from Augustine and Gabriel Biel to Luther; in this way the whole presentation is enriched. Despite Luther's tie to the method of the teachers of his day (Luther even lectured on Peter Lombard) his new Reformation approach shows through. "The obvious restraint of the young Luther in his statements on the sacrament is . . . to be judged as a factor of considerable significance for the Reformation" (p. 135). "The priority of the Word to the sacrament was, as far as one can see, from the beginning the firm point of departure for Luther's general doctrine of the sacraments" (p. 191). But Luther had discovered the "new outlines still partially under the cover of traditional concepts" (p. 337).

This is true of the special doctrine of baptism as it is of the general understanding of the sacraments. "Under *sacramentum* Luther understands the symbolically meaningful and spiritually effective manner in which men are confronted in the Word by the historical event of salvation in the death and resurrection of Christ. This is realized in human existence in the present by faith." (p. 147). The special understanding of baptism already contains—though still partly obscured—all the elements of the later so-called classic formations. This is shown in Luther's sacrifice of the concept *ex opere operato* and preference for the concept *opus operantis* and in the great significance for the effect of baptism which he grants to faith worked by the Word.

Apart from the many valuable individual insights which this study affords, it shows in a convincing way that the Reformation approach—though only in embryo—can be traced not only in the doctrine of justification so central for Luther, but also in the

doctrine of the sacraments. "It is perfectly clear . . . that Luther's attempt throughout is to allow himself in no case—also in the doctrine of the sacraments—to be dissuaded from *sola fide*" (p. 343).

K. G. Steck offers a contribution to Luther research—characterized by him as "sterile Alexandrism" (p. 63)—in No. 44 of *Theologische Studien*. Whoever hopes to read a penetrating study on this difficult chapter in Reformation history which could lead further or contribute something essential to the problem discovers on the last page: "Therefore the problem . . . of our subject . . . could only then be really better solved if we thoroughly test the questions here raised for their scriptural foundation" (p. 64). Moreover, he remains in preliminary questions, i. e. in a highly wilful study of certain sides to Luther's theology based on a questionable selection of sources.

One discovers the possibility that Luther could have made erroneous decisions in relation to the enthusiasts (p. 7). Of course, he does not go into this more closely. "One could . . ." (*ibid.*). One discovers "defects" in Protestantism, which (despite p. 7, note 4) are not more closely defined. And one discovers, finally, on almost 60 pages that Luther is supposed to have thought and taught spiritualistically, dualistically and positivistically.

The author can deplore, among other things, the fact that Luther did not carry through in a revolutionary way his radical spiritualistic approach. For according to Steck Luther himself is basically an enthusiast, only he did not behave so radically as Thomas Münster, for example. However, Steck has no perception for the fact that Luther and his coworkers—whom Steck describes as "epigenous"—wanted nothing else than to reform their church from the Word of God, and not take an era off its hinges. Our fathers knew themselves to be in the continuity of the church—something, indeed, which cannot be understood if only the "event" character of the church is in view (*cf. e. g.* the nonevaluated Luther quotation on pp. 19f.).

The greatest fatality Steck sees, however, in the fact that Luther had too great a "singular authority", resulting in "not a brotherly but a judicial" attitude (p. 61). But where would the church be (and this is true also of the "churches" of the Reformation) if she only dealt with false doctrine

in a "brotherly" way and ignored her divinely instituted office to judge doctrine according to the Holy Scripture? Such a weak-kneed theology which Steck praises as the only saving one can not but have fatal consequences. The problem of "Luther and the enthusiasts" is certainly not finished, but one cannot make Luther's "singular authority" responsible for supposed misdevelopments. The authority which drove him and which admittedly allowed him to see many things erroneously was not that of his own, but that of the Word of God.

Hans H. Weissgerber

It is to be commended that the valuable study on "Luther's struggle for the freedom of theology from philosophy" has now been published in a second edition. This work of Wilhelm Link, who unfortunately died so young, is a significant contribution to Luther research and has something important to say for the relevant problems of theological thinking today. In reading this new edition it is astonishing how relevant it is. The value of this book is shown by the fact that it has kept its relevance through almost twenty years.

The concern of the author is to test the import of Reformation thought. Every theologian who deals with Luther's beginnings must answer the question how Luther came to his new understanding of the Gospel and how he formulated and defined it. In answering this question, however, the opinions in Luther research diverge. Whether Luther is interpreted as an Augustinian, a nominalist or a mystic depends on whether or not the scholar in question can incorporate this or that element into his understanding of what Reformation thought is.

The author wants to show in what way the thought forms of medieval theology served or hindered Reformation thinking. He determines the essence of Reformation theology from the confession of justification expressed in the formulation *simul justus et peccator* and shows in broad perspective the misunderstandings arising out of philosophy and its presuppositions by which this confession was always misconstrued. In this way theology defines its limits in relation to philosophy. But now we come up against Luther's unique procedure which, despite freedom from philosophy, can use philosophical thought forms. At one time he

expresses himself as a "Thomist", another time as an "Augustinian", a "nominalist" or a "mystic". Therefore the author investigates Luther's attitude toward those medieval theological forms of expression in which theology had made something like a *covenant with philosophy*. In an interesting analysis it is shown that Luther uses the language of medieval scholasticism when the kerygmatic import can be expressed in it. On the other hand it is also clear that out of philosophical assistance philosophical dependence can develop to threaten the total kerygmatic import and nullify it. In this point Luther brings his sharp criticism to bear and presses for the condemnation of medieval theology.

In this study, whose method can only be touched upon here, the author succeeds in clarifying the essence of Reformation theology and thereby draws some conclusions about Luther's theological method as well as his theology in general. On the one hand, theology is free from philosophy because the message which is given in the Name of Jesus Christ is a free act of God. But as soon as something is said about this Name theology uses the support of philosophy. This Luther did, but in doing so he kept the freedom of the Name of Christ and radically rejected foreign domination by philosophy's penetration of theology. This book of Link's points this out convincingly. This should be said as a recognition of the book's great merit. For present-day Luther research, too, the relation between kerygmatic import and philosophical support is an unsolved problem. The author has accomplished something of lasting value. In view of this accomplishment it is particularly clear what a loss theological research suffered in the death of Wilhelm Link.

The well-known Munich edition of Luther's works presents Luther's *De servo arbitrio* in a new German translation by Bruno Jordahn. The publication of this book has its great significance in the fact that by contemporary translation this ever relevant writing of Luther's is made available to a wider public. This new translation certainly has the merit of having brought out its theological import in modern theological language. Whether indeed in Jordahn's translation the Latin terms so difficult to translate are still understood in their original meaning by today's reader is a difficult

question arising, though, in any attempt at such translation. The wealth of notes ought to ease the language difficulties. For the experienced reader of Latin Jordahn's translation will certainly be helpful and theologically enlightening. A question is whether a bilingual edition of this work of Luther's would not enrich our theological understanding, especially if the extraordinarily important theological statements of Luther's are to radiate upon the whole of cultural life. *De servo arbitrio* is indeed a book which can lead to a discussion between the theologian and the educated person. One should really take seriously the significance of the work at hand. There should be no doubt Luther has something essential to say on the relation of church and culture even today. The theologians of our time should learn from Luther in how far these questions are to be raised in the proclamation of the church.

Because of its detailed theological argument, *De servo arbitrio* has an important position among Luther's writings. This should be emphasized especially in the face of the doubts raised against this writing in earlier times. The theological introduction to this new edition by Hans Joachim Iwand is very helpful to the reader in this respect. Iwand has, in a masterly way, formulated the central theological import by concentrating on the three chief articles of the Christian faith. His judgment is that "Luther dissolves the position of his opponent by confessing the triune God and that this writing represents the greatest triumph which this confession ever attained in the church's struggle with the 'modern' spirit" (p. 260). One can only acquiesce in this judgment. It is certain that whoever reads this work using Iwand's introduction and the notes which deepen it will discover the treatment of the unfree will to be a special theological experience. The many individual problems which unfold around the central problem of this work certainly impress one with the fact that here we are concerned with no secondary issue but rather with the message of salvation. Luther remains a theologian also in his controversy with the humanist Erasmus.

We would like to recommend this work warmly, too, in view of the next Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation because

the problem of Christian freedom will demand a genuine evangelical interpretation.

Vilmos Vajta

Analogia Entis

THE ANALOGY BETWEEN GOD AND THE WORLD: *An investigation of its background and interpretation of its use by Thomas of Aquino. By Hampus Lyttkens. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1952. 493 pp.*

This extensive dissertation concerns itself largely with an area which generally has been neglected by Evangelical theological research, namely, the thought-world of the Middle Ages. Probably in no other area is it so customary simply to take over age-old generalizations without investigating on one's own just how the facts in question are really to be interpreted. And when this attitude is then combined with the natural tendency to make a comparison with the theology of the Reformation, usually from a point unfavorable to medieval theology, the total result often presents a picture of this important epoch in the history of theological thinking that is not very true to life. In view of this situation, it is important that Evangelical theologians also turn to this area, which is otherwise dominated, of course, by Catholic research.

The author of this work, now Professor of dogmatics at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, has chosen for himself a central theme in which he undertakes to investigate the meaning, importance and use of the concept of analogy in the thought of Thomas Aquinas, the foremost representative of medieval scholasticism and one of the most important theologians of the Roman church. With the lively and well-known statement of Karl Barth's in mind, that the *analogia entis* is "the invention of the Anti-Christ", the study of this work takes on great interest.

In order to be able to judge what the relationship is between the Neoplatonic and Aristotelian influences and what part each had in the development of the doctrine of the analogy between God and the world, the author found himself forced to make a source study of the corresponding texts of

Greek philosophy. For only in this way was it possible to gain a firm foundation for the development of the theme. Therefore the introductory part, based on the author's own investigation, brings a history of the concept of analogy that developed within Greek thought from Plato through Aristotle and Neoplatonism up to Pseudo-Dionysios. This, too, represents a commendable accomplishment that has opened up new frontiers of research. For as the author points out in his opening remarks, "the history of the analogy has not yet been written" (p. 14). The investigation leads to the conclusion that Aristotle's contribution to the formation of the concept of analogy lies in the area of logic (p. 29), whereas the concept within Neoplatonism takes on more of a cosmic than a logical meaning. Thus this becomes primarily a means of expressing the identity that always must pertain between a cause and its effect (p. 76). After a short survey of the history of the concept in the Western theological tradition before Aquinas (Augustine, Anselm, Alexander Halesius, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus), the presentation turns from p. 164 on to the actual concern of the author: the analysis of the use of the concept of analogy in Aquinas' thought.

Here the author traces a picture of the way in which Aquinas understood the relationship of God to the created world. We are then introduced to some of the characteristics of his concept of God and his epistemology and are given a glance at the motives which led to the introduction of the concept of analogy into theology. One might have wished a still more extensive treatment of this section. Then it might have been considerably easier for the reader to find his way through the individual discussion of analogy passages than is now the case.

Following this short and summary sketch of Aquinas' system there is a good survey of the different interpretations which the Thomist concept of analogy experienced in the course of history. The author is quite right in having thereby especially Cajetan in view, whose classification of types (*analogia inaequalitas*, *analogia attributivnis* and *analogia proportionalitatis*) has become almost classic, basically determining the later interpretations down to the present day. The author rightly speaks of a

"definitely Thomistic type of interpretation" (p. 218f.). Even Suarez moved within Cajetan's classification although his interpretation can sometimes be thought of as an expression of a contrary point of view.

The following section (pp. 245-475) forms the main part of the dissertation. It contains a careful comparative analysis of all the passages which have importance in this connection, with all of the works of Aquinas being drawn in. This analysis takes place in a constant, critical discussion of the generally customary and traditional interpretations. Whoever is acquainted with the extensive literature which has concerned itself with the meaning and the importance of the concept of analogy since the rise of Neothomism will perhaps approach this work of Lyttkens with the question whether anything new at all can be offered in this area. Actually—and that is what is so special and commendable about his work—the author has succeeded, by dealing directly with the sources, in forging an interpretation independent of the jurisdiction of the powerful Thomistic tradition. The purport of his main thesis, which seems to me to be wellfounded, is that all the types of analogy to be found in Aquinas—the *analogia proportionalitatis* included (cf. p. 465)!—are built on the relationship, fundamental for Aquinas, of causality between God and the world. The analogy would like to give expression to the similarity that exists between the created world and God as its transcendent cause. (The aspect of dissimilarity which is contained in the concept of analogy is not accentuated very strongly by the author.) The new classification of types suggested by the author is grounded in just this relationship of causality. From the platonising view of analogy contained in his earlier writings in which "the image is designated from the prototype" (cf. e.g. pp. 270, 283), Aquinas, according to Lyttkens' presentation, goes over more and more to develop that dominant main type in his *Summa Theologiae* and his *Summa contra gentiles*, that is, "designating a cause (God) from its effect". This tendency, more strongly influenced by Aristotle, to go from creation to God, instead of from God to creation, becomes, in view of the understanding and use of the idea of analogy, a fundamental feature in Aquinas' thought (p. 346; cf. p.

361). But in the opinion of the author this special type of analogy cannot be classified with any of the usual categories of types but forms an independent type among "analogous statements" (pp. 283ff.). Large sections of this part of the dissertation represent individual analyses in which the analogies of attribute and proportion, as well as those types which the author himself has advanced, experience a thorough treatment. However, the presentation in this part is not always written so that it is easily understood and the attempt to follow the author down the road of his development of a problem with all its nuances places considerable demands on the reader.

The purpose of the reviewer has been to call attention to Lyttkens' work, since any future investigation of the concept of analogy will have to come to terms with the results he has obtained. For reasons of space it is not possible, in addition, critically to examine the many aspects which this work offers. In view of the present state of research, as well as of the task set by the author, to determine the relationship of the Neoplatonic and the Aristotelian elements in Aquinas' thought one might have wished that, in addition, the importance of the thesis put forward by scholars like E. Gilson, J. de Finance and others concerning the basic distinction between *essentia* and *esse* might have been treated more extensively. For this thesis draws the line, of course, which separates the system of Aquinas in its unique individuality from the preceding theology colored by Neoplatonism, as well as from Aristotle. The question arises whether the author has not somewhat abandoned the thought world of Aquinas when he defines on p. 450 *essentia* and *esse* as "things and properties in creation". For in Aquinas *esse* always means an *act*, never a thing, or that which naturally belongs to a thing, a "property".

The author emphasizes repeatedly (e. g. pp. 164 and 199) that Aquinas uses the concept of analogy primarily for theological purposes. Accordingly, it would mean that Aquinas was primarily a theologian and was only a philosopher in order to be better able to fulfil his theological tasks. Especially in view of the fundamental importance which analogous thinking has within Roman Catholic theology as a rule, one would have been thankful if the author

had made himself clear what theological importance the new interpretation presented by him has. This question doubtless deserves a more detailed treatment than it received in the 8-page section on "The Consequences to Theology" with which the book ends.

This thorough and impressive work would have been of even greater use if it had been provided with a name and subject index. In the same way a list of the Aquinas passages handled would have been of great service to the reader in his attempt to appropriate to himself the results gained by the author.

Per Erik Persson

Social Ethics

EVANGELISCHES SOZIALLEXIKON. Ed. by Friedrich Karrenberg for the German Evangelical Kirchentag Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1954.

DER PROTESTANTISMUS — PRINZIP UND WIRKLICHKEIT [*Protestantism—principle and reality*]. By Paul Tillich. Stuttgart: Steingrüben-Verlag, 1950.

LIEBE, MACHT, GERECHTIGKEIT [*Love power, justice*]. By Paul Tillich. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955.

DES CHRISTEN ZUKUNFT [*The Christian's future*]. By Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1955.

DER UNBEZAHLBARE MENSCH [*Man beyond price*]. By Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy. Berlin: Käthe Vogt-Verlag, 1955.

DIE KIRCHE IN DER MODERNEN GESELLSCHAFT [*The church in modern society*]. By Heinz-Dietrich Wendland. Hamburg: Fürche-Verlag, 1956.

After the second world war the evangelical churches in Germany turned themselves anew in an unusual degree to social questions. In addition to carrying on the traditional charitable responsibilities there arose out of the special post-war situation *Das Evangelische Hilfswerk*. After the decision of the first post-war synod in Treysa in August 1945 it accomplished an immeasurable work in fighting tremendous human need. Evangelical academies were founded to mediate a discussion between the church and the world. In conferences sponsored by them a contribution was to be made

towards further clarifying the social questions of our day. Socio-ethical commissions and similar bodies of church lay work have been directing their activities for more than ten years now to the socio-ethical, socio-pedagogical, and socio-political area.

The social question gained special significance at the Evangelical *Kirchentag* since 1949. "The German Evangelical *Kirchentag* must take a stand in regard to the concrete concerns of public and social life as a fruit of the church which is called to responsibility and by this call set in action." (Donath). Thus the Evangelical *Kirchentag* is conscious of the fact that a satisfying answer to the social questions of today could only be given with scientific thoroughness and technical knowledge.

This approach is made particularly clear in the recent *Evangelisches Soziallexikon* by Friedrich Karrenberg for the German Evangelical *Kirchentag* to which the president of the *Kirchentag* has written an introduction. It is a cooperative work by about 160 experts in the Evangelical churches and has arisen from a conscious attempt to avoid accentuated confessional or political opinions. Inasmuch as specific Catholic and Jewish areas of social life were treated—as, for example, Catholic social doctrine—the editors understandingly drew in co-workers from the other faiths.

The *Evangelisches Soziallexikon* neither can nor aims to be "official church doctrine", just as it does not set an Evangelical social doctrine over and against Catholic doctrine. It is much more a cooperative work bringing to expression the point in which the Evangelical church, bound to the Word of God alone, is confronted by the social questions of our time.

In so doing, it is a book showing an astonishing agreement regarding the different questions of social life within the Evangelical church in Germany. But where differences of opinion exist they are substantiated. Much historical material is purposely included "to make clear that long before us, men and women had been seriously concerned and that we stand in a tradition which one can accept or criticize but cannot deny." (Karrenberg).

This *Lexikon* treats from an Evangelical point of view that which is social—i. e. that of which the various and numerous relationships between men consist; or, to use other words, everything that is of common concern to which the goodwill of neighborly

love or even the sense of justice could be subordinated. This demands that the various areas of life be taken into consideration. This has been accomplished in an admirable way. But, thoroughly corresponding to the character of a modern social lexicon, the primary emphasis is on the treatment of the total area of social structure, including international social structure, though sections like "the West", "Enlightenment", "Village and Church", "Freedom", "Law and Gospel", "Capital and Interest", "Securities", "State and Church", "Newspaper" and many others, show that this book, with its approximately 1,200 columns, has covered all the areas which concern the responsible man in his relationship to the mass, indeed, his "social partners" in the broadest sense.

The thoroughly objective presentation of the individual subjects, even the political ones, must be especially commended though perhaps not everything can be equally understandable to all, which, however, lies in the nature of the material. It should be mentioned also that the presentations of the individual problems make use of the latest material, including statistics.

The *Lexikon* is in pleasing and handy form and is alphabetically arranged so that it is valuable reference work for the expert as well as the layman, an aid never before given in this form.

The response which the *Evangelisches Soziallexikon* has already found and which it should continue to evoke in theologians and laymen, officials and voluntary social workers, employers and employees, as well as students and responsible people generally, can only confirm for the German Evangelical *Kirchentag*, the editor and the co-workers that this venture has really succeeded.

Peter Heyde

Paul Tillich was born in Eastern Germany but has been living in New York since 1933, and today is counted one of the most significant American theologians. This year he will celebrate his seventieth birthday. Tillich's works deserve special interest because in them the traditions of continental theology unite with those of Anglo-Saxon theology to form a whole. The book *Der Protestantismus — Prinzip und Wirklichkeit* is a translation of the work *The Protestant Era*, published in Chicago in 1948. It contains 18 essays from the period of 1922 to 1948—i. e. some from before and some after his

emigration—and they are chiefly concerned with the nature of Protestantism and its significance for individual and cultural life. Every one of these essays deserves extensive discussion. However, we must limit ourselves to the framework of this review and extract and outline the basic thought and thus the unifying strands of the essays.

Tillich distinguishes between the "Protestant principle" *i. e.* the dynamic source and vital power of all Protestant realities, and "historical Protestantism" *i. e.* the given and ever-changing form which Protestantism has taken in the course of its history. Since historical Protestantism has also been exposed to foreign influences which help to shape it, its given form is not always an expression in its time of the Protestant principle. In fact it can even more or less stand in sharp contradiction to it. "The Protestant principle took form in Luther's fight for justification by grace and through faith alone" (p. 218). Tillich sees a radical confirmation of this principle in the proletarian situation because in it man's struggle against the factors which determine him can be seen as social fate; conversely, however, the proletarian situation may be only rightly understood by means of the Protestant principle and its evaluation of the human situation and the situation of sin and guilt as such. Tillich emphasizes expressly that the preaching of the Gospel dare never be reduced to an intellectual discussion of grace, since there is in it the implicit claim to affect the social and political realm to change it.

For this reason the Protestant proclamation has decisive significance for our total modern culture. It is concerned with the preservation of freedom and subjection to God of all areas of life. Modern culture, explains Tillich, dare not be committed and abandoned to either "ecclesiastical heteronomy" or "secular autonomy" but must be placed under a "theonomy" formed in the meaning of the Protestant principle. "Either the Protestant churches will be reduced to insignificance between Catholicism and secularism, or they will prevail against both of them, in the power of the Protestant principle and of the reality to which it witnesses" (p. 271). The mere "No" to modern secular culture misses the fact that to come to terms with this culture is a task that cannot be avoided. In this point, according to Tillich, one must steer between Scylla

and Charybdis. For if Protestantism sacrifices itself to the secular it ceases to be a form of grace; if it withdraws from the secular then it ceases to be Protestant, *i. e.* to turn in its constant protest against a world which has cut itself loose from God and in its assumed autonomy falls into injustice.

Thus the problem of the formation of social and political life is thrown open. In a pertinent analysis from the year 1937 Tillich declares that in the present-day re-ordering of the masses the non-Protestant forces are the stronger, as shown in the three great centralized authoritarian systems, communism, fascism and Roman Catholicism (p. 279). In an essay from the year 1941 Tillich shows that these systems are not able to solve the problem of ethics in a changing world. In this connection he directs his criticism, however, also against the rationalistic, progressive attempt at solution represented by Anglo-Saxon "common sense" and in the ethics of rationalistic philosophy (*cf.* pp. 197 ff.). Where rigid law and abstract principle are supposed to bring form to a changing reality they only can lead to sanctioning social injustice and must of necessity come under suspicion of being mere ideologies *i. e.* mere masquerades of purely human self-interest and lust for power. "Love alone [the New Testament *agape*] can transform itself according to the concrete demands of every individual and social situation without losing its eternity and dignity and unconditioned validity" (p. 202).

Even more penetrating are the questions of the principles of social ethics treated in the small but rewarding book *Liebe, Macht, Gerechtigkeit*. This book too is a translation and grew out of lectures which Tillich gave in recent years in Britain and America. The chief thesis of this book is that the concepts love, power and justice—equally important for theology, philosophy and ethics—can only be rightly interpreted by means of an ontological foundation. Under the concept ontology Tillich understands an analysis of the fundamental structures of being: *i. e.* an ontology whose judgments may be verified by way of experience and which therefore is not speculative but analytical and descriptive (p. 23f.). As a result Tillich uses no special theological method in his study but purely philosophical arguments—without, however,

losing the New Testament import. His analysis, nonetheless, finds that it is not possible to explain what love, power and justice mean without entering the "dimension of the Holy" (p. 113). Thus Tillich almost returns to his starting point which now indeed takes on a theological perspective. Since an investigation is to involve the structures of being itself and this is identical to God, God must be the source and unity of love, power and justice. Essentially, in their original nature, this triad—which Tillich understands to be an analogy to the Trinity of God—is a unity, but separated in existence. Because the world and the men of this aeon live estranged from their essential being there exists in fallen creation no harmony of love, power and justice, but an ever-opposing relationship of these three forces. However, the bond between God and men is not completely rent; man remains, even as a sinner, God's creature.

Therefore it doesn't do merely to condemn sexual lust, the breaking of conventional laws and the use of power and force by states as ungodly and evil. "Biblical realism knows both that libido belongs to man's created goodness and that it is distorted and ambiguous in the state of man's estrangement" (p. 122). The same ambiguity wrought by this estrangement adheres to the earthly forms of power and justice.

The validity of the ethical imperative is anchored, according to Tillich, in the tie of men to God—not fully dissolved despite the estrangement that has entered. God confronts us not as a strange, wilful law-giver. He does not force us to slave obedience. Rather, the laws given by Him are laws of His own nature. The love of God wills that obedience takes place in freedom. That estrangement resulted at all and that there is physical and ethical evil in God's created world is, following Tillich's view, conditioned less by the sin and guilt of man than grounded in the Will of God who did not wish to hold humanity fast in a "condition of fatal innocence". With this thought Tillich believes he has found at the same time "a key to the eternal problem of theodicy" (p. 118).

Both of the books here reviewed are an important contribution to the present live discussion of socio-ethical problems within Protestant theology, though many of Tillich's proposed theses will not remain

wholly undisputed. Both books give a good picture of what Tillich understands by "philosophical theology" and their worth is increased by the fact that they are written in clear language, to a great extent understandable to laymen, for which thanks are due, not least to the translators.

Gottfried Hornig

Silesia is known as a land of seekers and speculative thinkers. This is easily documented by the abundance of names from the most varied of centuries, from Jacob Böhme down to Gerhard Hauptmann. Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy too is deeply bound to this land of contrasts and mysteries through his many years of life and activity. His thought and language take remarkable paths of their own—so much so that over and over again in reading his works the question arises whether one is not all too far from objective reality and all too near mere fancy, caught in the seductive game of historical dates, lines in time and comparison. This suspicion is probably never quite lost, even when one knows that it is a person of high scholarship who speaks here; when one knows that much of what appears aphoristic and *aperçu* in these works of Rosenstock's has scholarly verification behind it; that it is the wisdom of age in the ultimate and best meaning of the phrase. But this mistrust is only justified as part of the vigilance demanded of us by modern reality in facing a "challenge". The word reality in this case has a special meaning.

Rosenstock's starting point is social reality. This may be because of the author's broad education particularly in this field. But it perhaps is also connected with the fact that reality for the modern world actually means primarily "social reality". In this social reality, to a large extent, are embedded the needs, questions and failures of the man of today. This gives the social sciences their peculiar relevance and authority. But like Paul Tillich—with whom Rosenstock-Huessy has been connected since earlier years by means of common publications—Rosenstock attempts to struggle through social phenomena to the reality of being. Our world (in *Des Christen Zukunft*) is divided into areas of work and habitation; it is penetratingly described in the figure of a divided person, a person having three existences: suburban existence,

factory existence and highway existence lying between them. This divided person, so easily guided in collective, arises from the disintegration of real time reckoning, which reached its full sharpness in the half-century just behind us. The work-week no longer begins with the Sunday certainty of Cross and Resurrection. Sunday has become a week-end and with it the church in the suburbs has become sport. The authority is lacking for the sentence "extra ecclesiam nulla salus" because the presupposition no longer is taken in full seriousness, "extra crucem nulla ecclesia". Herein lies the want, the guilt, but also the call and the promise of the future.

Again and again it is a return to the order of time around which Rosenstock's thoughts are oriented: In the tyranny of the calendar the past encroaches upon the future. "The modern calendar is quite able to keep longer periods of time in view; only these periods are completely separated from their significance for men. The progression of generations, from fathers to sons to grandsons is not taken into account" (*Der unbezahlbare Mensch*, p. 47). This lack of connection in reckoning time has permitted the rhythm of work of the factory to arise with its basic equality of shifts—of the day and of the year. The reason lies in the false direction of our "materialistic" thinking "in state and church" (*ibid.* p. 164), which refuses recognition to large percentages of the people, thus making them "impotent". He is concerned with re-establishing the connection between present and future, the connection of partnership of those who bear a common burden, a cross.

The relationship to social questions, to the questions of the future of men and the world, posed by Marxism and raised by Evanston as the great ecumenical theme of the present, also gives form to one of the particularly fine chapters in H.-D. Wendland's book. The discussions in the sections of this great ecumenical conference have generally determined the themes of the chapters and the treatment of many of the individual questions. (Chap. 6 appeared at the same time as the book in the last issue of the *Ecumenical Review*, VIII, 2, under the title "Social Humanism and Christian Care".) *Die Kirche in der modernen Gesellschaft* sees its task in "theologically clarifying the situation and responsibility of the

church in the technical mass society of our day" (p. 7). This book does not present primarily a Christian social ethic, but a theological sociology which, as a theological science—one derived from the Word of revelation—makes "theological decisions by which the character of events in society becomes visible, something that an empirical sociology as such cannot recognize" (p. 16). The structure of the book is determined by this understanding; its starting point is the situation of the speaker (the theologian) and his authority from the biblical revelation. The third chapter shows the value of the doctrine of the two kingdoms for an understanding of modern social being, the fourth chapter the significance of Christian hope for social action. The fifth and sixth chapters are devoted to the elucidation of the concept in use since Amsterdam of the "responsible society" and the definition of a genuine Christian humanism in the face of a "mixture of humanistic ideas with some motives of Christian origin" (p. 153).

In comparing "man as a tool" with the Christian view of man it would have been better if the point had more clearly been brought in focus just where the fate borne by all of us in modern mass society ends and Satan takes over. Perhaps this is because to an extent this analysis presents present-day man too much as "he" and not so much as "we". But this certainly does not mean that the book has not been conceived and written from a genuine confrontation with and real participation in the life of our time. The last two chapters (7 and 8) make this particularly clear.

This also shows the fact that the book stands in close contact with the work of those who seek after a new relationship between church and society and that this book would like contribute to this work in a special way. How far the book itself has taken part in this search becomes clear especially at the end in the attitude taken towards the so-called para-churches, or when the question is raised whether we do not need a new type of preaching, bringing together mission preaching and the preaching in congregational worship in order to overcome by means of the sermon the fatal division between the center and those on the periphery.

It is remarkable that the question is not raised to what extent the liturgical order

can have a salutary effect in the social life of man, a question which lies so close to the thought of Rosenstock-Huessy, Paul Tillich or even Wendland himself. But this does not diminish the gratitude felt by the reader on finishing this book. It helps, as few others, in understanding our time and the tasks it places on the shoulders of all who are prepared to bear responsibility.

Hans Bolewski

Sexual Ethics

DIE ERZIEHUNG DER GESCHLECHTER [*The education of the sexes*], Studienblätter für evangelische Jugendführer, No. 10. By Hans-Otto Wölber. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses.

SEXUS UND EHE BEI LUTHER [*Luther's view of sex and marriage*]. By Olavi Lätteenmäki. Schriften der Luther-Agricola Gesellschaft 10. Turku: 1955.

Whoever would pick up a hot piece of iron must be equipped so that he does not burn himself. Wölber, who, in this booklet, presents the results of two study courses given in 1953, boldly takes hold of the hot iron of sex education and, as one quickly observes, does not get burned in the process. The way he does it appears to me to be exemplary. The booklet does not want to offer "information but rather education in sexuality as a whole" (cf. pp. 8f.). The book is divided into eight parts: Setting the Goal, Maturity, Discussion, Cure of Souls, The Partner, Off the Path, Marriage, The Single Life. The groups "Maturity" (containing a review of the biological process of maturing), "The Partner" (here individual types of young people are presented in their reaction to the sex question) and "Off the Path" (here a valuable treatment of self-gratification) may prove themselves to be of special help. Good pictures and graphic presentation make for visual appeal.

Since the booklet is addressed primarily to responsible leaders of youth, its use of language makes it not one that can simply be given to a young person; often one would wish a more simple, less theological language. Another question is whether the diagnosis and therapy correspond to the sociological situation of young people today; to a certain extent the impression is

given that an idealistic view is being presented which cannot quite do justice to young people today. Concerning the treatment of the First Book of Moses (why the theological term "Genesis"?), it could be mentioned that newer works, for example of von Rad, ought to have been treated. Special thanks is due to the author's concern to educate for a purposeful single life as well as for marriage.

Walter Tebbe

The lively interest which today is being brought to the study of ethical problems has been directed, for natural reasons, largely to the questions of human love, marriage, family life, and so forth. This dissertation of the Finn Lätteenmäki represents the first detailed attempt to give a comprehensive systematic presentation of Luther's view on these questions. The task which the author sets for himself (p. 17) consists in considering Luther's statements on marriage and the sexual life in connection with his basic theological views. Thus at the same time it is to be shown how far Luther's understanding of this area of life can be said to be an ethic of faith. Luther's vital understanding of creation and his new designation of the essence of sin resulted in a new understanding of that which is corporal as such. Instead of the spirit-matter antithesis which dominated the way of looking at things at that time, Luther placed the antithesis of good and evil, God and Satan at the center of his thought. In this way a place was made for an essentially higher estimation and a much more positive evaluation of the sexual life. In the struggle between God and Satan marriage has its place as an ordinance and estate. Through His two governments, the spiritual and the worldly, God engages in struggle with His enemy in various ways. Yet it is apparent to faith that the purpose of this double activity is one and the same: To realize God's will and spread His kingdom. Though marriage, therefore, represents an external, worldly arrangement which has been subordinated to the worldly government, it forms, however, at the same time an estate of faith in which man is confronted by the gracious God who is the Giver of all good gifts.

This is the external framework in which Luther's view of marriage is rather thoroughly presented and developed. This

dissertation offers rich source material and points to a multitude of aspects. However, what one misses is a uniform systematic development. The main concepts are mentioned, it is true, yet they are not given a dominating rôle or organizing function in the presentation. In order really to be able to organize or grasp theologically Luther's view of marriage, a thorough occupation with Luther's view of the law would seem to have been indispensable. In the presentation of the author, the concept *lex naturae* doesn't appear until page 142 and here in a subsection of the chapter "An Estate of Faith". To handle under this title such concepts as calling, natural law and God's governments cannot contribute to systematic clarity.

On page 17 the author speaks of the unique position of "the Word received in faith as the origin of the whole Lutheran ethos". However, in what follows one seeks in vain for an explanation as to the way the author imagines the relationship to be between this *ethos* and mere civil good conduct extorted by the law and grounded in the worldly government. The concept "ethic of faith", under which the author would like to subsume Luther's statements on marriage and the sexual life, does not produce the sharp and clear delineation required.

Olof Sundby

For Church and School

WIE IN EINEM SPIEGEL [*As in a glass*] By Olov Hartman. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1954.

MY STORYBOOK OF JESUS. By Darlene Hamilton; ed. by W. Kent Gilbert; illustrated by Joyce Hewitt. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955.

QUELLENBUCH ZUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE I/II, VON DER URGEMEINDE BIS ZUM BEGINN DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS [*Sourcebook in church history I/II, from the early church to the beginning of the 19th century*]. Ed. by Hermann Schuster Karl Ringhausen, Walter Tebbe. Frankfurt a. Main, Berlin, Bonn: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1955.

The time when sermon books found a ready market and made "church history" is

past for the moment. If today a publisher decides to undertake such a risk nevertheless, he must have good reason to believe that the publication will not remain unnoticed. The sermon book of the Agentur des Rauhen Hauses has a remarkable number of things to commend it.

We begin with the external appearance. The publisher has attempted to make this small volume of sermons "unconventional". It has the appearance of a modern book with an appeal in its cover design and one-volume form, and can be placed alongside novels published in Germany. Certainly in the future when we dare to edit sermons we should remember so to edit them that their visual impression will encourage their being both sold and read. A volume of sermons today dare appear neither in the workaday dress of scientific publications nor in the form of edifying books "of yesterday".

The name of the author should also be considered as being not without considerable importance in this respect. We must be very sober about this fact without encouraging the suspicion of paying tribute to "ecclesiastical dignitaries". Sermons of men known in the church and Christendom are sooner bought than those of unknown men. This is perhaps valid also for Olov Hartman. In Germany this Swedish pastor and author has become known to a large circle of readers through his rousing novels which so ruthlessly lay bare the question of Christian existence today and which make a vital question of the inheritance of recent history, especially of confessional Lutheranism and pietism. So many will reach for this second volume of sermons from his prolific pen with great expectations: Does he do what his novels promise? For the discriminating reader there is a strong impulse to read these sermons. This modern preacher is an author, pastor, and man of the folk highschool (Sigtuna), a combination which for the present-day Swedish church is not unique. It is understandable therefore that in the center part of his small volume of sermons which has given its name to the whole (*The world in a glass*) he is consumed with an inner love for this world, its forms and objects—a new indication of the mutual pervasiveness of the first two articles of the creed.

The sermons themselves, despite their simple language, are rich in thought, stimulation and reflection. Hartman does not

preach thematically but paraphrases the biblical text and knows how to make present for us today the lordship of Christ. His particular pastoral concern makes a salutary impression. One of the most impressive sermons of this little volume ("Christ and Christendom", Acts 11:26), closes with the sentences: "Neither our Christianity and the judgment pronounced on it in the world, nor our Christendom—which does or does not justify its name—will be able to separate us from the love of God. In heaven there can no longer be Christians and Christendoms. For heaven means nothing else than that we are totally with Christ. And this future has its presence already in faith" (p. 123). Whoever knows of the ecumenical confrontation and impulse resulting from the preaching of related churches will gladly reach for a book which, in its limited selection, offers such solid fare.

The handy book by Darlene Hamilton consists of two parts: a Teacher's Guide and the actual storybook with illustrations by Joyce Hewitt. The European catechist who is faced with the same task as his American colleague will read both parts with great interest. A book that betrays such thorough acquaintance with the four and five year olds in kindergarten and Sunday School is also of great value for us in Europe. For that reason it is relatively easy to come to a common understanding about this small book.

Children will be attracted at first by the pictures. They remind the European reader of the Bible pictures of Lietzmann, but raise the same question: Do they correspond to the picture of Jesus that we would like to anchor in the hearts of our children? The western reader must put this question because the pictures of Jesus with which he is acquainted has been formed by a century-long history of church and art. His American colleague is not so encumbered or restrained, as the pictures of this book show. These cannot be examined or adopted uncritically in Europe. Nevertheless I believe that our children will gladly study them and learn to love them. The choice of stories (stories of Jesus—stories that Jesus loved, primarily from the Old Testament—stories that Jesus told, primarily parables) shows that the purpose of the storyteller is to induce children to come to love Jesus and listen to Him. The

Biblical text is frequently expanded: "This story is told as it might have happened" (p. 52). If one has a lot to do with pre-school age children such a narrative method is indispensable; the question arises, however, whether Miss Hamilton does not attempt too much (cf. e.g. pp. 14ff) when she tells of Jesus' youth. At this point there is a danger of moralizing from the picture of Jesus; He is to be an ideal for the children, for their own childhood and life in the family.

The helps for parents and adults, in both the first and second parts of the book, are good. A new, promising path is pioneered toward responsible partnership of the parents. The child too is encouraged to honor Christ and to serve in the circle of the family.

For a new edition of this little book, one wish and suggestion: to include the Passion Story. I am of the opinion that this could help the purpose of the book to "help the child to understand some of the simpler lessons illustrated in the Bible stories". Place could be made by dropping one or other of the parables which might have their difficulties for pre-school age children.

Walter Tebbe

Vol. III (1954) of the *Quellenbuch zur Kirchengeschichte* was described by this reviewer in LUTHERAN WORLD (II/2, Summer, 1955) as "something between a popular sourcebook and a scientific collection of source material". Since then it has been pointed out to him that we have here a text and workbook in church history for the higher classes of secondary schools—a fact more clearly underlined in the preface to Vol. I/II. Accordingly the point of view of critique should be pedagogical rather than scientific.

This sourcebook fulfils a deep need of teachers in secondary schools for an aid in making church history something more than a collection of dates and person and place names. Most source collections have a scholarly purpose and therefore cannot meet this need.

The editors have succeeded in making alive the church history curriculum of the *Gymnasium* by quotations from historical sources. (In certain passages excerpts from historical works are given, e. g. pp. 76f., 149.) The quotations illustrate the central problems of the currents in church or

cultural history or of the thought world of the persons in question. In this way the "inner course" of church history becomes clearer than is usually the case. The task confronting textbooks and teachers alike, to attempt to make church history not simply a "history of Christian thought", is clearly seen.

As in Vol. III, the material is divided in an exemplary way. It is obvious that it is almost impossible to bring illustrations from 18 centuries of church history in 210 pages. The editors solve this problem by creating "points of stress" so that the more important periods, like the 2nd-4th centuries and the Reformation, are represented by a larger number of sources than the others.

An introduction of 24 pages precedes the actual historical material, offering quotations "from the classical and late-Jewish intellectual and religious world". This introduction is not only justified but also necessary, since the relation of the ancient world to Christianity—positive or negative—has seldom been taken into account in choosing textbooks for the secondary schools. The four sections are: "The ancient Church" (pp. 1-48), "The Medieval Chris-

tian World" (pp. 49-90), "The Rediscovery of Faith" (pp. 91-138), "Orthodoxy, Pietism, Enlightenment" (pp. 139-184).

If there were something one would criticise in this volume it should be the lack of an "ecumenical" point of view. Material on persons and events outside the German cultural circle like the spread of the Reformation in Europe, the Counter-reformation in present-day Catholic lands, the Swedish mission among the Lapps or among the Indians of America, Peter Waldo, Knox, Marot and Beze, the Pilgrims, Gustavus Adolphus—all these could have broadened the horizon of the students and allowed the "ecumenical" character of the church of Christ stand out more strongly. But perhaps this whole point of view is yet too new to be fully taken into account in the teaching materials of our schools.

As a whole, the *Quellenbuch zur Kirchengeschichte* must be seen as a pedagogical success, having its great significance not only for instruction in church history in Germany but also for teachers in the rest of Europe. The special booklet for teachers promised in the preface will doubtless increase the value of the book even more.

Laszlo G. Terray

Missions

KARTE DER RELIGIONEN UND EVANGELISCHEN MISSIONEN DER ERDE [Map of the religions and Evangelical missions of the world]. Edited by Prof. Dr. Martin Schlunk and Dr. Horst Quiring; in connection with the International Missionary Council, London, and the Missionary Research Library, New York. Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, and Bern: Geographischer Verlag Kummerly and Frey, 1955. 459 pp.

THE STUDY OF MISSIONS IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION. By Olav Gut-torm Myklebust. Oslo: Egede Institute, 1955. 459 pp.

To attempt to portray the religious life of the human family on a map is no small task, even if one uses a ten-color printing process. Of many this writer has seen the recently published map by the Evangelischer Missionsverlag, Stuttgart, is by all odds the most detailed and carefully done. It shows, for example, the divisions of Islam into Shiite and Sunnite branches. It even depicts the modern category of "secularism", which apparently means in the Western world lack of formal church membership, and appears therefore to be rather less prevalent than the facts of modern society state.

(Scandinavia and Germany among others are free of secularism according to this map.)

The compilers have used the latest data available and assembled a map which should be of great value in the classroom. One realizes again in studying it that the Christian mission is only at the beginning of its work in the vast non-Occidental world.

Missionswissenschaft is not by any means universally recognized as a valid theological discipline. But it is at any rate a more generally taught subject of study than it was a hundred years ago. Dr. Myklebust's work (the first of a two-volume historical study) traces up to 1910 the development of efforts to introduce and teach the "science of missions" (missions has always seemed to this reader as much an art as a science) in theological schools.

The author has read prodigiously and at the sources. A voluminous bibliography is not the book's least valuable section. He has ranged the world over and accounts in almost infinite detail of the men who had anything to do with the problem.

This reader would have preferred less historical detail and more emphasis on significant contributions to the subject. To the theological educator, and especially to the teacher of missions, the work will be useful.

Arne Sovik

THE VOICE OF THE YOUNGER CHURCHES

The latest events within the Lutheran World Federation have brought in their wake the fact that in the reports on the Federation and its member churches in LUTHERAN WORLD a relatively large part has been devoted to the so-called "younger churches". We include in this issue the most important documents of the Marangu Conference; likewise the first impressions of the 250th anniversary jubilee in Tranquebar, of the consecration of the first Indian bishop of the Tamil church, Dr. Rajah B. Manikam, and of the Asian conference in Madras. In so doing a certain fear which all those immediately connected with the re-establishment of our magazine two years ago had, has been refuted: a fear that nothing might come of this magazine other than at best a mirror of European and—even though with more distance—American Lutheranism.

This has not been the case at all. The unity of Lutheranism has stood the test of the separating lines of our time. It has done this—we note only in the margin—even in the face of the great opposing forces in world politics today, though again in the volume now completed we have heard nothing from many churches whose word should have special impact and weight throughout all of Christendom today.

The voice of the younger churches however has become audible in our journal to a greater extent than in probably any other ecumenical periodical. True, very often men on the mission field have spoken for these churches, on their questions in view of school reform in Africa, their spiritual life, their position in the national development of their peoples. But the men from Africa and Asia themselves have discovered and now expressed the real problems of their churches: the relationship of Christians and especially of pastors to the rising educational level of the country, the relationship of faith to their own paternal heritage, the co-operation of the mission and the young church, the offices and order of the church.

These are just the questions which should give thought to Christians in the West. The demand for an autonomous church need not be, by any means, despite every justified distrust of the concept of autonomy, a pagan demand. It is in essence a demand for the autonomy of the church, for her freedom from cultural, economic, social and other human accretions which in the history of missions, according to the critical judgment of the non-occidental, the church took along with her into the pagan world. People who demand the autonomy of the church in this way know—or at any rate should know—that this autonomy dare not mean a new heteronomy, that the "yoke of servitude" of western guardianship dare not be exchanged for new national resentment. Autonomy is a good thing when it means the freedom of the church to be bound to the living God.

This demand for the autonomy of the church, however, seriously puts to all Christians the question of the being and nature of the church. Every more advanced theological student can list the answers given to this question in the course of the history of doctrine. He can mention what attitude medieval Catholicism, the Reformation, Pietism and the Enlightenment had to this question. He can perhaps even characterize the positions of the ecumenically cooperating—and non-cooperating—churches. But it is at least improbable that he can give a binding answer for himself. In this respect he is no worse off than almost all the churches of the western world. For tradition—recognized silently for the most part by Christian and non-Christian alike—has taken this question out of their hands. They can even exist without answering this question. For how long no one can say. But everyone feels that the credibility of the churches is to be judged by the way they deal with the burden of this question.

The younger churches, too, will only then be autonomous when they are prepared to give an answer to this question; and it doesn't appear as if their environment is willing to make an answer easy. "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*", but also "*extra crucem nulla ecclesia*". Therefore the churches of the West and the churches of the East, the "older" and the "younger" churches, are dependent on each other in seeking their purpose and mission, their order and office, in mutual consideration of what each has to say, and in a "*mutua consolatio fratrum*" under the cross to which all are called; and in praising and magnifying Him who has called her with a thousand tongues but with one voice.

Hans Bolewski

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

This issue goes to press at a moment when the several events of the Lutheran World Federation in India have just come to an end. We shall bring material from them in our next number; in the meantime we must content ourselves with the brief reports by Dr. LUND-QUIST and Dr. SOVIK.

Here we should like to give some notes on the authors in this issue: Dr. Georg HOFFMANN is rector of the seminary of the territorial Church of Hannover in Loccum; Dr. Carl F. WISLÖFF is rector of the Practical Theological Seminary of the Free Faculty of Theology, Oslo; Dr. Kurt FRÖR is professor of practical theology at Erlangen; Cantor Willem MUDDE, Utrecht, is the chairman of the "Lutherse Werkgroep voor Kerkmuzik", which organized the International Conference on Lutheran Church Music in Amsterdam, September 23-27, 1955. The problems discussed at this meeting have considerable importance for the inner life of our churches, as may be shown by the reports on the liturgical reforms in Holland (by Oberkirchenrat R. UTERMÖHLEN, Hannover), in America (by Dr. Luther D. REED, President emeritus of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia), and in Germany (by Oberkirchenrat D. RIEDEL, Munich).

The reports from South America are by Professor Wilhelm HAHN, Heidelberg, and the rector of the Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires, Pastor Béla LESKÓ.

For the report on Lutheran work in the Near East we have to thank Christian CHRISTIANSEN, director of LWF Work in Jerusalem.

The reports on the Marangu conference are by Professor Heinrich MEYER, Germany, and Pastor S. A. MBATHA, Ev. Luth. Zulu Synod in Natal, South Africa, and the report on the Asia conference by Dr. Arne SOVIK, Geneva.

The report by Prof. Christhard MAHRENHOLZ, Hannover, and the opinion solicited from Prof. Peter BRUNNER, Heidelberg, are related to the work of the LWF Commission on Theology. They were given at the last meeting of the Commission at Strasbourg, August 5-13, 1955.

We wish to point out, also, that in future issues we shall be bringing news of recent theological and ecclesiastical reference works, as in the reports by Prof. Julius BODEN-SIECK, Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, and Prof. Heinz-Dietrich WENDLAND, Theological Faculty, Münster, in this issue. — We hope that Prof. E. Dinkler will write a preliminary report on the new edition of RGG for the next number.

The preview of the meeting of the Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life is from the pen of Pastor Herbert REICH, director of Stewardship Work for the Church of Hannover.

The following have contributed book reviews: Dr. Hans H. Weissgerber, Dr. Vilmos Vajta, Dr. Per Erik Persson, Peter Heyde, M. B. A., Dr. Gottfried Hornig, Pastor Dr. Hans Bolewski, Pastor Walter Tebbe, Prof. Olof Sundby, Pastor Laszlo G. Terray, Dr. Arne Sovik.

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LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

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Publishers:

Sonntagsblatt Inc., Jenischstr. 48, Hamburg-Kleinflottbek/Germany

Printers: Flensburger Druckerei, Nikolaistraße 7, Flensburg

Lutheran World is a quarterly with an English and a German edition (German edition: *Lutherische Rundschau*)

Regular subscription rate for one year \$ 1.75

Regular subscription rate for two years \$ 3.00

Price of each copy \$ 0.50 or its equivalent in local currencies

Orders can be sent directly to the publishers or

For the United States to: National Lutheran Council, 50 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. (USA)

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LITERATURE SURVEY

A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS
PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

NR. 1

1956

Biblical Theology

DER STAAT IM NEUEN TESTAMENT
[*The State in the New Testament*]. By Oscar Cullmann. Tübingen: J. C. Mohr, 1955.
100 pp. 9 DM.

The problem of Christianity and the state is given to us in the Gospel from the very beginning. The early church faced a hostile government and secular authority, but she also had to make statements on the nature of the state itself. On the other hand, an essential part of the church's preaching was the end of secular authority and the beginning of the Kingdom of Christ. The studies published in this volume were delivered by the author at Union Theological Seminary, New York, as the Hewett Lectures. All questions raised are treated from the exegetical and historical point of view. The author considers in his studies the whole New Testament, including the life of Jesus. The Cross of Jesus confronts us with the problem of the state. Both theological and also mere historical questions are dealt with here. Even though there seem to be some contradictions in the different New Testament writings, there is considerable agreement within it as a whole.

THE AREOPAGUS SPEECH AND NATURAL REVELATION. By Bertil Gärtner. *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Uppsaliensis*, No. XII. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1955. 289 pp. Sw. Kr.

The author compares the methods of historic description in Luke with those in the Old Testament, in the ancient Greek, in the Maccabees and in Josephus. He also presents a study in the character and the place of the speeches in the Acts of the Apostles, especially the Areopagus speech.

He explains previous attempts to solve the problem of the Areopagus speech. By investigating the context, he denies the hypothesis that Paul had been questioned on the Areopagus by the Athenian Council. The author asks the question whether Paul had shared in the process of assimilating Jewish and Hellenistic thought or whether he had for missionary reasons brought his speech in line with Hellenistic philosophical ways of thinking. The theological content of the Areopagus speech is unfolded as follows: 1. The concept of natural revelation and its significance for men. 2. Paul's concept of God. 3. His attack against the false worship of God. 4. His concept of universalism and of the divine plan of salvation. Finally the author presents a solution of the altar inscription and declares that the contents of the Areopagus speech are Paulinistic.

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL: A COMMENTARY. By R. H. Lightfoot. Ed. by C. F. Evans. London: Oxford Books, 1956. 378 pp. 30 s.

This book is addressed to the same class of reader as the Clarendon Bible — those who wish to make a serious study of the Bible but may not have any special linguistic equipment, such as a knowledge of Greek. It is primarily a religious and theological exposition of the text of St. John's Gospel. Such questions as date, authorship, place of origin, and the relation of this gospel to other books of the New Testament are not ignored; but Professor Lightfoot's main purpose is to elucidate from a close study of the text the writer's thought and its significance for the doctrines of the early church. When he died at the end of 1953, the book was nearly completed. Mr. Evans has set the introduction in order and contributed a preface.

THE SUFFERING SERVANT IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH: *a historical and critical study*, 2nd ed. By C. R. North. London: Oxford Books, 1956. 280 pp. £ 1.5.—

This book is an investigation of the sections on the Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. In an exhaustive study the author deals with all questions concerning the historical and the theological aspect of the Suffering Servant. This present second edition has been revised and considerably enlarged.

Historical Theology

ANSELM VON CANTERBURY: *Cur Deus Homo?* — [Warum Gott Mensch geworden?] Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft E. V., 1955. XII. 156 pp.

The classic study of Anselm on Incarnation and Redemption is now published in a bilingual edition (Latin and German). Reverend Father Franciscus S. Schmidt, O.S.B., is responsible for the translation and the introduction. One also finds a short bibliography.

BIBELN OCH MÄNNISKAN I MAGNUS FRIEDRICH ROOS' TEOLOGI: *En systematisk studie i württembergspietism* [The Bible and Man in the Theology of Magnus Friedrich Roos: a systematic study on Württemberg Pietism]. By Helge Brattgård. *Studia Theologica Lundensia*, No. 10. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups, 1955. 403 pp.

This study on the theology of Roos is introduced by a survey of Württemberg Pietism and a biography of Roos. The author sees Pietism in connection with Orthodoxy and in opposition to Rationalism. The theology of Roos is shown as a mixture of Orthodoxy and Pietism. This is shown in his doctrine of Holy Scripture and his anthropology. These two are connected closely to each other. It is emphasized that man is God's creation and from this point Roos builds up his anthropology. This book is an indication of the living communication between present-day research in Church History in Tübingen and Systematics in Lund.

ANSGAR SVERIGES APOSTEL [Ansgar, the Apostle of Sweden]. By Yngve Brilioth. Stockholm: Diakonistyrrelseförlag, 1955.

This small volume by Sweden's Archbishop deals with the life and the significance of the great northern missionary Ansgar. He lives at the beginning of the Swedish Church. His missionary activities are a part of the mission which has been started in the 11th century. His work and theological ideas and thoughts have still significance for present-day Swedish church life.

DER URSPRUNG DES CHRISTLICHEN DOGMAS: *Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Albert Schweitzer und Martin Werner* [The Origin of Christian Dogma: a Diskussion of the Theses of Albert Schweitzer and Martin Werner]. By Felix Flückinger. Zürich-Zollikon: Ev. Verlag, 1955. 216 pp. 15.80 Sw. Fr.

The thesis deals with the "Consequent Eschatology" of Albert Schweitzer and his disciple Martin Werner. Albert Schweitzer postulated that the center of the New Testament was the coming of the Messiah and following him Martin Werner tried to prove that the Christian dogma has its origin in the fact that the end did not come and that the early church substituted dogmas for the pure apocalyptic proclamation of Jesus. The author postulates the consequent eschatological concept must be developed and corrected. He holds in contrast to Albert Schweitzer that the Apocalypse is not the central concept of the Gospel. His own concept is that the center of the New Testament is the Gospel as a saving proclamation. Therefore, he seeks the origin of Christian dogmas, not as Werner does in the fact that Christ did not come, but even in the eschatologic preachings of the apostolic age.

KYRKA OCH VÄCKELSE INOM HÄRNÖSANDSSTIFT FRÅN 1840-TALET TILL OMKRING 1880 [Church and Revival in the Diocese of Härnösand from 1840 to 1880]. By Martin Gidlund. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1955. 339 pp. Sw. Kr. 19.—

Even though the subject matter is limited to the area of a diocese, this paper might be of more than local interest. The problems in the relation between traditional church life and the different forms of the revival movement are shown by the example of the diocese of Härnösand. A difficult situation within the state church is created by the actions and reactions of the bishops, the pastors, and the laymen.

There are four groups: the Church revival movement, the Lutheran Separatists, the Rosenians, and the Baptists. The first two rely on the Augsburg Confession, the latter two's orders and confessions are based on reformed traditions. The discussion deals with the conception of the ministry and with the doctrine of the church and the Lord's Supper. The author also shows what positive influences this struggle had on the pastors, the church life, and especially church discipline. There is an English summary added.

WEG UND BEDEUTUNG DER ALT-KIRCHLICHEN CHRISTOLOGIE [*The Way and the Significance of the Christology of the Ancient Church*]. By Arnold Gilg. München: Chr.-Kaiser-Verlag, 1955. 108 pp. 4.80 DM.

The author, professor of history at Bern, Switzerland, shows in this book, which has been published first in 1936 and which is now reprinted, the developments which led to the doctrines of the person and the work of Christ from the apostolic Fathers to the Council of Chalcedon. He points out that the ancient dogmatic formulas concerning the Logos-christology or the doctrine of the two natures in Christ have been developed against all attempts to solve the mystery of Christ or to sacrifice the divinity of Christ. The author also shows the steps from the New Testament conception to the dogmas of the early church and further to the understanding of the person and work of Jesus Christ in the thinking of the 16th century reformers. This book is published in the series "Theologische Bücherei" (Theological Library) in which theological standard works, which are out of print, are republished.

THEOLOGIE UND PHILOSOPHIE BEI LUTHER UND IN DER OCCAMISTISCHEN TRADITION [*Theology and Philosophy in Luther and in the Occamist Tradition*]. By Bengt Häggglund. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups, 1955.

The author deals with the distinction and the connection between Theology and Philosophy and with the differences from and the similarities to the concepts of faith in Luther and in the occamist tradition. He gives a systematic presentation of these problems and summarizes them in the

light of the idea of a double truth. The late scholastic theology demands a clear distinction between Philosophy and Theology because of epistemology, while Luther's distinction is based on his doctrine of original sin. Therefore, after a correctly understood "sacrificium intellectus", Luther can establish a positive relationship between reason and philosophy on the one hand and faith and theology on the other hand. The possibility of connecting Theology and Philosophy is based on the late scholastic concept of faith as "fides acquisita." However, Luther cannot admit this, since for him faith is primarily experience.

LUTHER'S WORKS: Vol. 12, *Selected Psalms I*. Ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan and H. Lehmann. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press; St. Louis: Concordia, 1955. 366 pp. \$ 5.00.

This volume is the first of a set of 55 which are to be published by the joint efforts of Concordia Publishing House and the Muhlenberg Press. The project will take some 15 years. Its aim is to present in idiomatic English a sequence of 20 volumes on Luther's Old Testament Commentary, 10 volumes on the New Testament, and the final 25 on his career and theological teachings, correspondence, devotions, sermons, and Table Talks. When completed, this 55 volume translation under the title "American Edition" will be the largest and most authoritative in English. The first volume (No. 12) contains Luther's commentaries on Psalms (2, 8, 19, 23, 26, 45, 51) translated by four different scholars under the editorship of Professor Jaroslav Pelikan of the Federated Theological Faculty, University of Chicago. It includes a one-page general introduction and a four-page introduction to the volume and an eight-page index. The text is based primarily on the Weimar Edition and is accompanied by occasional explanatory footnotes.

LUTHER: LETTERS OF SPIRITUAL COUNSEL. Ed. by Theodore S. Tappert. Library of Christian Classics, XVIII. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955. 367 pp. \$ 5.00.

This is a representative selection of Luther's letters based on the Weimar Edition of Luther's works translated and edited by Dr. Theodore Tappert. There is a

general introduction giving the "salient features of Luther's theology" and describing the general areas in which Luther's counsel was sought and given. Questions of the cure of souls "were answered in terms of Luther's understanding of the Gospel and in terms of the immediate situation". The introduction also includes notes on the publication of the letters and selected matters from Luther's Table Talks dealing with matters of the cure of souls chosen to supplement the letters. The letters are included under eleven different classifications. There is a short introduction to each letter about the circumstances on which Luther's counsel was based, which generally does not go into problems of text. In each grouping the letters and selected Table Talks are arranged chronologically. There are three pages of general and special bibliography and four pages of Biblical references.

SERMONS ON THE PASSION OF CHRIST. By Martin Luther; translated by Professor E. Smid and Professor J. T. Isensee. Rock Island, Ill: Augustana Book Concern, 1955. 224 pp. \$ 2.50.

Here for the first time in many years are thirteen famous Lenten Sermons of the great reformer available in an English translation. The original translation of this volume was made over seventy years ago and has been out of print for a great many years. Each sermon meditation deals with an event of the Passion Week, beginning with the occurrences at the Mount of Olives, continuing through the seizure, trials, crucifixion and burial.

N. F. S. GRUNDTVIG: AN AMERICAN STUDY. By Ernest D. Nielsen. Rock Island, Ill: Augustana Book Concern, 1955. 175 pp. \$ 2.75.

In a vague way the name of Grundtvig is known to those who have even an elementary knowledge of general Lutheran history. Grundtvig is, however, a man of the Lutheran church whose life and interest ought to be generally better known. Dr. Nielsen, now president of Grand View Lutheran College, Des Moines, Iowa, has rendered a distinct service to Lutheranism, as well as to the entire English-speaking

Christian world in writing this book. It is well written and fully documented. The reader will receive insight and information about a man who exerted a lasting influence in Denmark by his emphasis on Christian liberty through the Gospel, his faith in absolute spirit, his program of education, his numerous excellent hymns, and his various writings.

FOOLS FOR CHRIST. By Jaroslav Pelikan. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 172 pp. \$ 3.00.

A study of the relation of the holy to the good, the true, and the beautiful in comparative approaches of Kierkegaard, Dostoevsky, and Nietzsche with those of St. Paul, Luther, and Bach makes up this book.

A BASIC HISTORY OF LUTHERANISM IN AMERICA. By Abdel Ross Wentz. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 430 pp. \$ 5.00.

The author is former president and professor of Church History at The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. This work is "larger and more complete" than his book *The Lutheran Church in American History*, 2nd ed., 1930. However, it basically follows the lines laid down in this book. He uses a pattern of American history as the framework for telling the history of the Lutheran church in America. "It aims not merely to present facts but also to present an interpretation". Information is included on the history and status of the various Lutheran church bodies, the beginnings of LWF, recent moves in Lutheran unity in America, and the role of Lutheranism in the ecumenical movement. The book includes 27 pages of bibliography and biographical notes and an extensive index.

PULPIT UNDER THE SKY. By Joseph M. Shaw. Minneapolis: Augsburg. 250 pp. \$ 3.50.

This book is an account of the faith and life of Hans Nielsen Hauge, the lay evangelist of Norwegian folk piety at the crossroads of the 18th and 19th centuries.

URCHRISTENTUM UND GESCHICHTE
[*Primitive Christianity and History*] Col-
lected Essays and Lectures. By Hans von
Soden; Edited by Hans von Campenhau-
sen. Vol. II Kirchengeschichte und Gegen-
wart. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1956, 110 pp.
9,- DM.

Hans von Campenhaußen in the Preface to this collection of 14 lectures and essays by Hans von Soden from the period 1911—1945 says that they bring to bear an abundant, learned knowledge upon the pressing questions of their time. Indeed, only the oldest of the essays, "The History of the early Christian church in Africa" breathes a quietness of research untouched by the questions of the day. Time after time, all of the others show how the author with his scholarship knew himself called into the controversies of his day. Therefore, two long articles are concerned with the scholarly refutation of Spengler's interpretation of history. Thus in the articles on Augustine and Luther, the total personalities are so grasped that he attempts to show both in their significance for the present. Five essays and lectures take definite stands in relation to church problems of the present. In these von Soden, for the most part, is not only speaking as a university professor, but in the name and at the desire of ecclesiastical authorities. He devotes himself to scholarly statements, for example, on the theological declaration of Barmen and the problem of the Church of Christ in relation to secular authority. Therefore, it is pertinent and logical that this collection ends with the moving letter von Soden wrote, as leader of the Confessing Church of Kurhessen-Waldeck, to the pastors of his Church.

DIE CHRISTOSOPHIE RUDOLF STEINERS. [The Christosophy of Rudolf Steiner]. By Klaus v. Stieglitz. Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 1955. 350 pp. 12,80 DM.

Here the author presents a study of the famous founder of so-called "Anthroposophy". His evaluation of the theme is based upon a thorough study of original sources, especially letters, addresses and the writings of Steiner, which have been almost unknown to public up to now. Steiner's "Christosophy" is developed by the author in Steiner's personality, his life

(Biography, Part I), and his basic philosophical concepts (Part II). Steiner's concept of "Christosophy" has grown out of the personal experiences of his life and out of his controversies with church theology and certain movements within "Theosophy". This concept is based upon biblical and theological motives and thoughts as well as upon non-biblical and non-theological ones. Having evaluated his thoughts, Steiner finds a "new way" which he holds opposed to the "old way" of the Roman Catholic church. In the end, however, the name of Jesus Christ "is used as a principle to solve philosophical questions".

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHURCH FATHERS, Vol. 1. Faith, Trinity, Incarnation. By Harry A. Wolfson. London: Oxford Books, 1956. 688 pp. 80 s.

This sequel to the author's *Philo* will be of interest to all students of the Hellenistic thought-world, in which Christianity had its historical origin, and especially to Patristic scholars. It is an attempt to present the philosophy underlying the teaching of the Fathers, as shown in the problems with which they were concerned. Starting with St. Paul's distinction between 'the wisdom of God' and 'the wisdom of this world', it deals with the attitude of the Christian writers to the truths of Scripture and to philosophy respectively, and then passes to the two great topics of the thought of both Christians and heretics: the Trinity and the Incarnation.

Systematics

FÖR EDER UTGIVEN. EN BOK OM NATTVARDENS OFFERMOTIV. [Given for You. A Book on the Motive of Sacrifice in the Holy Supper.] By Gustaf Aulen. Stockholm: Diakonistrelseförlag, 1956. 240 pp. Sw. Kr. 14,50.

This study is based on the various ecumenical discussions on the Lord's Supper as started at several international conferences. The author deals especially with the contribution of the anglican theologians, but also quotes some roman-catholic statements. For him the most significant problem is the concept of sacrifice. This item is emphasized by anglican theology, while it

is disregarded in the other reformers. Through a short analysis the author shows that the motive of sacrifice is the basis of Martin Luther's reformatory theology. But Luther is very cautious in using the terminology of sacrifice because it had been misused in medieval theology. His emphasizing the real presence, however, is based on a certain concept of the eternal sacrifice of Christ being present in Holy Supper. The author is himself skeptical about certain anglican formulas, in which the sacrifice of Christ is connected with human actions.

THE CHURCH AND THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE. By Edgar Carlson. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press: 1956. 104 pp. \$ 1.75.

This book is a statement of how the Christian faith applies to the social situation and how the law of love calls the church to participate in responsibility for political, economic, and social affairs.

EXISTENTIALISTS AND GOD. By Arthur Cochrane. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956. 176 pp. \$ 3.00.

This book is a treatise on a basic problem for theology today, distinguishing between various concept of Being held by existentialists inside and outside the church, and the Christian doctrine of the Being of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

ETHICS OF DECISION. By George Forell. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956. 158 pp. \$ 2.50.

This is an introduction to Christian ethics which treats life as decision and compares Christianity as way of life with non-Christian alternatives as practised both within and outside the Christian church.

DIE ORDINATION ZUM AMT DER KIRCHE [Ordination to the Ministry of the Church]. By Joachim Heubach. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1956. 220 pp. 13.80 DM.

In the first part of this study, the author deals with the treatment of "Ordination" in the history of theology in the 19th and 20th centuries. "Ordination" in recent history is not merely a theological question, but also a question of church law and government.

The second part provides a thorough evaluation of the Lutheran doctrine of ordination to the ministry. The main topics of the second part are e. g.: Ordination and Ministry; The Apostolicity of Ordination; The Place of Ordination; The Significance of Ordination for Church Government and Church Law.

THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH. By Howard Hong. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1956. 144 pp. \$ 2.50.

This is a study of secularism and its corroding effect upon the Christian faith. It discusses the responsibility of the church for and in a secularized world.

KRISTUS OCH HANS KYRKA. By Anders Nygren. Stockholm: Diakonistrelseförslag, 1955. German edition: *Christus und Seine Kirche*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1955. 5.80 DM. English edition: *Christ and His Church*. Philadelphia: Westminster 1956. 128 pp. \$ 3.00.

The author's task here is to show the unity between Christ and His church. Did Jesus himself speak of the Church? Does the Church belong to the Gospel? The author says, yes, and he proves that Christology and Ecclesiology belong together. This unity of Christ and His church is testified to by the Gospel in the concept of the "body of Christ". The Church cannot be without Christ and Christ cannot be without the Church. The single congregation is part of the Church insofar as she participates in the Body of Christ in Word and Sacrament. On this theory it follows that there is only one Church. All ecumenical activity has to accept this as given. From this basis also church fellowship and intercommunion must be discussed.

CREDO ECCLESIAM — VON DER KIRCHE HEUTE [I Believe in the Church — about the Church Today]. Edited by the Evangelische Michaelsbruderschaft. Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1955. 78 pp. 3.80 DM.

This programmatic statement, addressed by the Evangelical Brotherhood of St. Michael to the church public, deals with the needs, problems and questions of present-day church life. This Brotherhood is a

movement for theological and liturgical renewal in the evangelical church (founded in 1931). *Credo Ecclesiam* states that the theological revival after World War I and the German church's struggle had not had the expected results. In the first part, this publication unfolds the confession of the 3. Article of the Apostles' Creed "I believe in one holy catholic and apostolic church". It is based on the attempt to overcome ancient controversies and concept without departing from Christian truth; it also is based on a thorough exegetical and systematic study. The unfolding of the Confession also includes the necessary anathemas against Roman Catholicism and modern heresies, as well as the necessary consequences for the form, the order and the worship service of the church. One also finds in this volume an exegetical study on "Succession in the New Testament" by Professor Heinz-Dietrich Wendland (Münster) and a paper on the "Apostolic Succession and the Evangelical Church" by Dr. Hans Dombois.

GEDENKSCHRIFT FÜR WERNER ELERT. BEITRÄGE ZUR HISTORISCHEN UND SYSTEMATISCHEN THEOLOGIE [In Memoriam of the late Werner Elert, Contributions from the Field of Historical and Systematic Theology]. Edited by Friedrich Hübner together with Wilhelm Maurer and Ernst Kinder. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1955. 424 pp. 18.50 DM.

Professor Werner Elert has been known for almost thirty years as one of the most famous scholars of the Lutheran church and its theology. His reputation derived from his *Morphologie des Lutherthums*, 1931, 2nd ed., 1952, and *Die Christliche Wahrheit*, the 3rd ed. of which has just been published. One year after his death, this book was published in his memory. It is impossible to list here all the articles and studies which it contains. Scholars from both America and Europe who have been connected with Professor Elert have contributed to this publication, thus providing an excellent survey on present-day research in the field of church

history and dogmatics. Each of these twenty-seven articles is a new contribution to the research field concerned. The reader will also find a paper on Elert's life and work given by his faculty colleague, Professor Althaus, at the memorial celebration of Erlangen University, where Elert had taught for more than thirty years.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR: HIS RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Charles Kegley and Robert Bretall. Vols. 1 and 2. New York: Macmillan, 1955. \$ 6.50 each.

The volumes contain an intellectual autobiography of Niebuhr. Twenty scholars, among them Paul Tillich, Emil Brunner, and John C. Bennett, criticize and interpret his work. Niebuhr again replies to his critics, giving one an over-all view of his entire theological system.

NORDISK TEOLOGI [Northern Theology]. Presented to Ragnar Bring, July, 1955. Lund: G. W. K. Gleerups, 1955.

Nineteen outstanding Scandinavian theologians have contributed to this book which has been presented to the Professor of Systematics at Lund University on his 60th birthday. Among others, one finds a paper by M. H. Sørensen on "Kierkegaard's Doctrine of Paradox" and by Professor Regin Prenter on "The Enslaved and Free Will in Otto Møller's Doctrine of Redemption". K. E. Skydsgaard deals with Prenter's "Dogmatic Presuppositions". There is a study on "Gottfried Billing's Understanding of Society" by H. Pleijel and one on "Einar Billing's Theological Method" by Gustav Wingren. In the last contribution Anders Nygren gives a statement on Ragnar Bring's theological endeavors. He wants to do justice to Bring's significance by interpreting the terms "Luther-Renaissance", "Biblical Theology", "philosophical analysis". This book, as its title says, is "Northern Theology", both in past and present times and as far as the authors and their contributions are concerned.

Practical Theology

AGENDE FÜR EVANGELISCH-LUTHERISCHE KIRCHEN UND GEMEINDEN, Bd. 1: *Der Hauptgottesdienst mit Predigt und heiligem Abendmahl und die sonstigen Predigt- und Abendmahlsgottesdienste.* [Service Book for Evangelical Lutheran Churches and Congregations, Vol. 1: Service with Sermon and Holy Communion and other Preaching Services and Communion Services.] Small edition for pastors; edition for the congregation. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1956.

As a result of long liturgical research work, the Committee on Liturgics of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany presents the first volume of the new Lutheran service book in two editions, one for pastors and one for the congregation. Many sub-committees have cooperated in this endeavor and have produced a service book which draws upon the conclusions of long theological and liturgical research. The service book offers rich and carefully selected material. "Part A" is the order of service with sermon and Holy Communion (with Ordinary and Propers). Great emphasis is put on this section. It is intended that the evangelical mass will become the center of the liturgical life of the church. "Part B" contains other preaching and communion services. "Part C" presents many kinds of prayers, especially prayers for the pastors before, during and after the service. "Part D" contains liturgical melodies. There are also instructions for the use of this service book, the calendar, and indices. One also finds short introductions to the propers (Wilhelm Stählin) and to the order of service, the calendar and the Prayers (Christhard Mahrenholz).

JAHRBUCH FÜR LITURGIK UND HYMNOLOGIE [Yearbook for Liturgics and Hymnology.] Edited by Konrad Ameln, Christhard Mahrenholz and K. F. Müller. Kassel: Stauda-Verlag, 1956. 246 pp. 24.00 DM.

This yearbook is being published for the first time. It contains a review and survey of the results of liturgical and hymnological research in the evangelical church compiled by the help of 70 collaborators. Each year from now on, there will be a report on the

results of research and different topics in liturgics and hymnology. The first edition contains three main contributions: "The Nürnberg German Mass, 1524", by Bernhard Klaus; "The Hymnal of Daniel Rumpff, 1587", by Konrad Ameln and Ernst Sommer; "The two most important German-Swiss Hymnals", by Markus Jenny. In addition, there are many minor contributions and a thorough bibliography from both Europe and America.

CLINICAL TRAINING FOR PASTORAL CARE. By David Belgium. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956. 144 pp. \$ 3.00.

This is a guidebook for members of the clergy engaged in the field of pastoral care in hospitals and with the sick.

RECHT UND INSTITUTION [Law and Institution]. A report on the continuation of the discussions started in Göttingen, 1949, on the Christian foundation of law. Edited by Hans Dombois. Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 1955. 72 pp.

The Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany (Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland) meeting in Bethel/Westphalia, 1949, recommended setting up a working committee to deal with questions concerning the Christian and theological foundations of law. This committee met once in Göttingen in May, 1949. Through the initiative of the "Evangelische Forschungsakademie Christophorusstift" the discussions on this subject were taken up again in January 1955. Dr. Hans Dombois, the head of the "Forschungsakademie" presents in this publication the reports and statements presented at this second meeting. In addition to a paper on the "Concept of Law and Justice in present-day German Jurisprudence" by Ulrich Scheuner, the main subject with which the meeting dealt was the concept of "institution" (Hans Dombois, "The Problem of Institution and Marriage") within human social life and its implications for theology and jurisprudence. The theses set up at this meeting are also published for the first time in this volume. In these theses it is stated among other things that "Institutions are given by God. The basis for recognizing their character as God's creation is the revelation of God in the Old and New Testaments."

TWENTIETH CENTURY ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE. *An Extension of the New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Edited by Lefferts A. Loetscher, et al. 2 vols. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1955. 1,205 pp. \$ 15.00.*

This is not an independent encyclopedia but two supplementary volumes to the thirteen volume English language reference work. It brings the results of scholarly research and opinion since the publication of the Encyclopedia itself. It includes recent historical and biographical material, as well as newer areas of practical theology. Though the contributors are primarily American, results of European scholars are included. The complete set (15 vols.) can be obtained from the publisher for \$ 78.50.

REPORT OF THE JOINT UNION COMMITTEE TO THE CONVENTIONS OF THE NEGOTIATING BODIES 1956 (*American Lutheran Church; The Evangelical Lutheran Church; Lutheran Free Church; United Evangelical Lutheran Church*). Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1956. 213 pp. \$ 1.25.

This printed report contains the plans to date for the merger of four Lutheran church bodies in the United States and Canada. It includes a short introduction, the proposed constitution and by-laws, the articles of union, the joint statement on faith and practice entitled „The United Testimony,” the proposed enabling resolutions, and in an addendum: the „Union Timetable,” proposed budget and tables giving a financial picture of the merged church and merging churches.

Translations

ETHICS. By Dietrich Bonhoeffer. *The Library of Philosophy and Theology. New York: Macmillan, 1955. 325 pp. \$ 4.00.*

ESSAYS. By Rudolf Bultmann, *The Library of Philosophy and Theology. New York: Macmillan, 1955. 325 pp. \$ 4.75.*

THE EARLY CHURCH. By O. Cullmann. London: SCM Press Ltd. 1956. 232 pp.

STUDIES IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By M. Dibelius. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1956. 228 pp.

THEOLOGY OF REINHOLD NIEBUHR. By Hans Hofmann. New York: Scribners, 1956. 288 pp. \$ 3.95.

BY FAITH ALONE. By W. J. Kooiman. New York: Philosophical, 1955. 220 pp. \$ 6.00.

THE EARLY CHURCH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Adolf Schlatter. London: S. P. C. K., 1956.

CHRIST AND CAESARS. By Ethelbert Stauffer. Philadelphia: Westminster. 1955. 296 pp. \$ 4.50.

NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. By Ethelbert Stauffer. New York: Macmillan, 1955. 350 pp. \$ 4.25.

LUTHER. By Rudolf Thiel. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 492 pp. \$ 5.00.

LITERATURE SURVEY is published as appendix to LUTHERAN WORLD by the Department of Theology, Lutheran World Federation, Director Dr. Vilmos Vajta. All inquiries should be forwarded to: Department of Theology of LWF, Geneva/Switzerland, 17, Route de Malagnou.

